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PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES OF ASSEVERATION AND ADJURATION

By

OLIVER TOWLES

A DISSERTATION

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Preface

The subject of asseveration and adjuration has been discussed by several authors, most particularly by Rudolf Zöckler[1] and Konrad Tolle[2]. The work of Zöckler covers the whole period of French, treating asseveration and adjuration from the point of view of form; Tolle gives an uncomplete classification of forms of asseveration in the early period of French, Spanish, Italian and Provençal.

Confining myself to the period of French literature from the earliest monuments to the middle of the sixteenth century, I have attempted to analyze the usage of all forms of prepositional phrases of asseveration and adjuration as well as to ~~[illegible]~~

[1] Die Beteuerungsformeln im Französischen, Leipzig, 1906. [2] Das Betheuern und Beschwören in der altfranzösischen Poesie, Erlangen, 1888

to classify as precisely as the terms of these expressions in use in the period. The material collected for this study was supplemented from the dissertations of Zöckler, Tolle and Richard Busch[1], from the dictionnaires of Godefroy and du Cange, and from Langlois' Table des Noms Propres dans les Chansons de Geste.[2]

Such results as investigation has yielded regard the grammatical, chronological and literary usages of oaths. An examination of their local distribution could be made only by bringing the treatment down to the present and by establishing a comparison between every-day usages and usages as depicted in the documents

[1] Ueber die Betheuerungs- und Beschwörungsformeln in den Miracles de Notre Dame, par personnages, Marburg, 1886. [2] Examples from Godefroy and Langlois are indicated by the abbreviations God. and L. respectively.

and literature of earlier periods.

The problems of assimilation and oath-strengthening, I have been able to treat only to a very limited extent. These processes in oath-formation just begin to show extensive development at the close of the period under examination.

Oliver Towles.

Chapel Hill, N. C.
January 15, 1917.

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Chapter I. Introduction.

A. Principles and Forms of Invocation.

In invocations of objects of reverence and love for the purpose of emphasizing speech, the two fundamental principles that seem to be involved are (a) that the object invoked will aid in proving the sincerity of the utterance; (b) that the agent will be punished by or through the object invoked if he speaks falsely or fails to act as stated. The simplest forms of these two kinds of invocation are si m'ait dieu, si t'ait dieu etc. and te deable m'emporte si..; etc.

In this study we are not concerned with either of the above forms of invocation, but with the invocation of objects of reverence and love by means of a phrase consisting of an introductory preposition plus the name of the object invoked. In this form of invocation also the ideas of entreaty for aid

[1] See: par dieu, par dieu notre seigneur, par saint jean, etc.

and of imprecation[1] seem to settle emphasizing principles

There is little possibility of overlapping and confusion between prepositional phrases of invocation and invocations in the forms si m'ait dieu, ete and le diable m'emporte,[2] etc. Here is, however, great difficulty in distinguishing between prepositional phrases of invocation and prepositional phrases based upon the name of some abstract quality, such as par amour, en vérité, en charité, etc. We

[1] Compare for illustration: nous prenons vos vies, qu'elle est grosse d'enfant, Mir. Nf. II, 620. - Qu'est-ce, Truans, par vo malaçon?, Aub. 59. - par male aventure, Mir. Nf. XXXIII, 1050. - Par vostre part de paradis, ib. XXIII, 821. - Vos iments, par les grenons, Fabl. VI, 93. - Et aoez menty par vos dents, Chr. ap. La Ren. 444. [2] Note, however, mauz le dieu < mal qu'il ait dieu (an indirect imprecation) and par Dieu (confused with parbleu) < je renie dieu (an indirect imprecation).

must in this study accordingly concern ourselves with phrases consisting of a preposition plus the name of an abstract quality noted, as the result of the presence of the possessive pronoun (par ma foi, par votre serment, etc.)[1], the abstraction seems to be made definite, personified and invoked.[2]

[1] Cases included par foi (p.), à foi (p.) and en bon foi (p.) on account of their parallelism with other forms of invocation of foi, such as par ma foi, à la foi, en ma foi, foi que doi je. [2] The most important phrases of this nature that I noted are:

amitié:

par mes dex, ames, par tres amistez, Found Bl. 1375. — Par amistié... Esperez par moi, Rom. de Tristan, 247.

amour:

par amour, Esploitiez vos tost, Fabl. V, 195. — à vous suppli, par amour fine, Mus. Mr. XXIX, 690. — En amour vous proy, ib. IV, 235.

charité (continued on next page):

use omitted. The adjurative phrases consisting of a preposition plus a possessive adjective plus an abstract quality of the being adjured, such as, par vostre bonté, etc.

The normal objects of invocation in asseverative and adjurative oaths may be divided into two classes, religious objects and objects [illegible]

Parlez plus bas, en charité, Thierry in La Ren. 18.

bitié:

pour pitié, Laissiez moy, Mich. Mk. IV, 1277.

verité:

oïl, par verité, Li Merl. 1903. – Par la verité m'en iras, Ren. VI, 331. – Ce sai je ceir de verité, Clig. 763. – En verité, li bains, li vins... ont esté bien conté, Fabl. I. 74.

Compare: Sire, par ton commandement ke fentinos, Guil. Pal. 3183. – Et li prient par sa franchise, Gloss. 218. – Bailli nous ... par ta toie bonté, Ren. 3247; par grace, percheg le, Rab. I, 12. – et le, dieus, par les voetres bontés, Comment en serai je delivrés, Fabl. IV, 19... etc.

to the speaker, the person addressed, or the person referred to. In the first class the invocation appears to call the name to witness the truth for superhuman attestation the sincerity of the utterance emphasized; in the second the invocation is apparently an imprecation upon the adored object in case of insincerity.

In the early middle ages attestation by religious objects was very frequent. The legal processes of the Germans were in large measure based upon judgment by oath, and after Christianization such forms of law were long continued in the handling of mixed cases.[1] The value of invocations of religious objects evidently must vary according to the speed and the degree of reverence in which religious objects

[1] See Du Cange, s.v. "Juramentum." Baluzius, Capit. Reg. Franc. I, 134, 234-5, 318. Bouquet, Rec. des Hist. des Gaules, IV, 454-5, 597-609 (exorcisms); V, 617. Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Scrip. I, 758

are held. So long as the reverence is fervent, things religious may be seriously invoked to attest truth. As reverence declines, it becomes necessary to strengthen the form of invocation, and when that also ceases to maintain the solemnity of the formula, the invocation preserves emphasis only because it now becomes vulgar or irreligious. In the first case, it is religious worship which gives emphasis to the oath; in the second it is vulgarity, impropriety, insincerity and the underlying self-imprecation. I have termed these two kinds of invocation serious and frivolous respectively. Invocations of objects pertaining to the speaker, etc. have not in general the same emphasizing power as invocations of objects of religious reverence. In this case also one notices changes in the forms of invocation as the result of changing times and ideals. In the

earliest period a number of nominal objects occur in pairs, such as la barbe, les yeux, le chef (tête), but in the fifteenth century, these are replaced in great measure by abstractions such as foi, honneur, conscience, serment, etc.

The propositional phrases under consideration occur in three forms of invocation, asseverative, adjurative, and ejaculatory or interjectional. The asseverative invocation qualifies statements of fact and intention, attesting parenthetically the truth of these statements by reference to that which is revered; ce, par dieu je l'ai fait (-ce fais, -le ferai). Adjurative invocations accompany commands, requests, questions, etc., and are fundamentally demands that the person addressed shall speak or act as stated, if he hold in reverence the object named, as pour dieu faites-le (-que faites-vous?, etc). Ejaculatory or interjectional

invocations have no direct relation to the clause they accompany, but as interjections, serve either to express the emotion of the speaker or to support the person addressed.[1] With this latter kind of invocation we are not here concerned except where invocations in nominal assevera-tive or adjurative forms, or in forms derived from them, are used interjectionally.

The original function of assevera tive and adjurative invo-

[1] See supra, p. [illegible]. [2] Such as _sang dieu!_ < _par (pour) le sang dieu_. Such interjectional forms without preposition have not been considered except when there is evidence to show that they were abbreviated from prepositional phrases of invocation. For example, _Dieus_ not treated in this study as _dieu!_, _diable!_, which occur in Old French alongside _par dieu, par diable_, etc. _Sangbieu!_, moreover, is not found until the fifteenth century, and on account of its function and date of appearance it may be supposed to be abbreviated from the full asseverative and adjurative forms. See infra, p.

cations, may, it is reasonable to suppose, be used in the cases where they qualify intensively assertions which are themselves asseverative or adjurative in character.

Ce me jure il toudis par s'ame, Tabl. II, 194.- je vous promet sur dieu et sur ma foy, Th. fr. au m. a. 221.- en mi fei, je vous afi, Tabl. V, 204.- de par dieu... te te dirai, Guil. d'A. 83.- je t'en prie, par ta foy, Chans. du XVe S. 70.- ainz te conjur je par la foi que ta reis dois que plus chier as, Guil. Pal. 479.- je vous requier ou nom de dieu, Chans. du XVe S. 49.- je t'adjure... de par dieu, R. P. F. XII, 405.

In the use of the asseverative or adjuratory assertion, the superficial phrase itself is generally unmeaning object of reverence to the person to whom it is addressed, or object of fear to the person to whom it is addressed, or object of fear to the person to whom it is addressed, or object of fear

dissociative

Adverbs exist to which there is a possibility that the listener may doubt the sincerity of his words, so, for example, in promises, threats, surprising statements, emphatic answers to questions, announcements of messengers, expressions of anger towards the person addressed. Adjunctive adverbs are employed to concentrate the command, prayer or question to a point.

Que, par ex., tu veux bien, K. 9. S. II, 192. — Par moi ainé, je te défie, C. Mar. I, 31. — Par documents, Orange, 609. — Dame, pour la vertu divine, Qui est-ce? Mir. Mk. XXIII, 120. — Ne me m'en parlez plus, par votre ame, ib. XXXI, 2339.

As is seen, the impulse to the employment of adverbs is, in the case of association, the result of an emotion of the speaker, anger, joy, surprise, etc; in the case of adjunction, the result of his desire to influence (i.e., inspire with one of these emotions) the person addressed.

It is natural that oath-formulas which are long in usage should come merely to indicate the intensity of annoyance and begin themselves to be indications of the speaker's state of mind, that is, become interjections. The asseverative invocations or references to a motional interjections like: Dieu!, Vîtes! and pour!; the adjurative imperations, mortatory interjections like: venez!, allons!, dites!, avant! and en ça!.

I. Forms of asseveration.

Prepositional phrases of asseveration are normally introduced by the prepositions par, sur, en and à.[1]

The preposition par is by the most usual preposition in asseverative phrases. It forms asseverative oaths with all the customary

[1] For interjectional forms in asseverations, see p. 1; for (par ma) foi (que) oui..., see p. 27; for de par in asseverative phrases, see p. 36.

It might well here to point out a distinction of usage between phrases of asseveration by religious objects and phrases of adjuration of a similar nature. It is asserted that normal forms of adjuration occur currently in non-religious context whereas forms of asseveration are avoided as improper and undignified. This difference results from the vacant nature of asseveration and adjuration. In the case of the former, the speaker takes the responsibility of the utterance on or upon himself, in the case of the latter, he shifts it upon the person addressed. The naming of an object of reverence in connection with a statement or evidential utterance must rely upon tradition or deference. On the other hand the mention of this object as an imprecation to enable it to act as deterrent approximates to the nature of a prayer

Cf. below pp. 336, 364 fg, 368 fg.

jects of invocation and, in almost all cases, the phrases introduced by it are the regular form of asseveration. The par phrases are used to emphasize the forms of asseveration otherwise.

Promises,

Par dieu... je n'irai ami Se vous le, Fl. fr. au, m. a. 88. - Par les saints qu'en quent en Galice, li afaitterons sa pe- tice, Ren. XVII, 1431. - Par la mere dieu de Montfort, Je te dirai la verité, R. T. M. S-J. II, 15, 14.

Threats.

Par dieu, Ja en la voie n'aurai part, Ch. VIII, 194. - Par dieu, pendu sient..., Ac- ti qui ete., ib XVII, 1294. - Dieu, par dieu, tu seras tatu, R. G. S. II, 192.

Facts (intensive or emotional asseveration), (In present time):

Is termatiste? Dis, par de, Fl. m. [illegible] 16. -

Par dieu... dang gloz, vos i mentez, Orenge, 609. - par toz les sains d'Orliens, c'est une grue grant et bele, Tab. V, 152. - Par dieu... il me m'est pas avis, H Val. 356. - Par la chair, ie renie; par le sang, ie renague; par le corps, ie renonce: H m'ust reschapfé, Rab. II, 175. - Par le corps bieu, ie barbotte ces mots, Th. fr. av. la Ren. 103.

(Im future tense):

Par dieu, se tu i vais, Tu m'en retorneras ja mais, Thèbes, 1203. - Par dieu... a mal chief en venras, Prise de Cordres, 2027. - Par le corps bieu, rien m'en sera, Rec. de Farces, 18.

(Im past tense):

Par dieu... S'ust ele o lui par foi pleuve, Escoufle, 3926. - Mes par dieu... Anques en cor jour de ma vie, Ne li requis je vilenie, Ren. XVI, 786. - Par le corps dieu, vous y avez bien ouvré, Th. fr. av. la Ren. 107.

~~Par ma foy, par le corps, par le sang de Dieu, par la mort bleu~~ Par le corps Dieu, Hept. II, 175.

9. Interjectional utterances.

Merveille voir, par dé, Si petite arme qui a tel povesté, Alisc. 6787. — Sus, par mal de aventure, Mus. Mk. XXXIII, 1050. — Quel bée, dea! Par le vaincl sang que Dieu enca! Es-tu fol?, Hept. as. ta Ren. 109. — Mon ami, Merci de Paris, Met'y fie, car c'est un lieu le plus guerant. Par le corbieu, R.T. III. 5 - T. II, 11, 16. — Par Dieu! vous en pourriez bien taire! Hept. as. ta Ren. 108.

Asseverative phrases with sur.

These asseverations appear commonly for the first time in the fifteenth century. Before that time, occasional examples are found of the use of sur phrases to qualify expressions of asseveration.

Que gaires tus sur cest escrit, Hept. au m.a. 19. — Je vos pleois sor Dieu, [illegible]

My earliest example of sus phrases in independent association function are from the end of the fourteenth century.

mais je ne sçay, Sus t'ame de moy, qui ilz sont, Mir. Mod. XXVI, 741. — ou li a fait grant ennui, Sus m'ame, a tort, ib. II, 1081. — Sus m'ame, il est en petit point, Eust. Deschamps, I, 170.

In the fifteenth century this form of oath becomes common, particularly in literature of the upper classes.[1] In invocations of foi and âme it is almost as frequent as the par phrase of association. During the sixteenth century the oath begins to disappear, as is shown by its rare occurrence in Rabelais.[2]

Sus is used rarely to introduce associations by religious objects; among objects per-

[1] Rond. XXVII, XXXI, XLVII, LXXIII, LXXXVII, CXL; Chans. des XV^es. 17, 35, 37, 91; A. P. F. IV, 10; ib. V, 14; ib. XIII, 209; Michel Roy. IV, 491, 492, 494; etc.

taining to the speaker, etc. Only âme, foi and serment are found frequently in asseverations introduced by sur. These sur phrases just as the corresponding par phrases, including âme, foi, serment, etc., are relatively recent euphuistic means of asseveration. They occur normally in simple statements of fact.

Come feray, sur mon ame, Rec. de Farces, 40.— Sur ma foy, il est bon, R.G.S. II, 338.— Sur mon ame ... je le feray, Mich. et Roy. IV, 491.— J'eus a l'eure, sur mon ame, le cuer plus fier qu'eung lyon, Chans. du XV^e S. 19.— Sur mon ame, vecy bon mouvt, Mist. I, 248.— Sur ma foy, vous avez grand tort, R.T.M. S-J. II, 7, 13.

Asseverative phrases with en.

The employment of en to introduce asseverations is relatively rare at all periods of the

in the Old French oath-form en mon nom.[1] In addition to this form, I have found en mon de moi,[2] en foi[3] and en ma foi[4]. These forms are weak asseverative phrases.

en mon de moy, & en fenaylon ymages, Mir. NS. XXI, 1368. – En mon de mi, & mi l'amenoit tout a anemi, Rutteb. I, 90. – En mon foi, oil, N Carlos. 8269. – Dont tu aimas, en mon foi, Ren. XIV, 665. – En ta mon foi... Sor Mahom me jurastes, Elie, 2146. – En mon foi... t'otroi, Ren. XXI, 25.

Asseverative phrases with à.

This preposition introduces asseverative phrases in two forms, à foi and à ma foi. I have no examples of these forms

[1] for treatment, see p. 103 fg. [2] Rutteb. I, 90; Mir. NS. XIX, 286, 183; ib. XXI, 1368. [3] Erec, 25, 1. [4] See below p. 270. I have collected the phrases of swearing by the Christian Medieval French, not those referring to a specific form as used by a certain author, or in a certain period or in a certain example; when necessary I have given the Old French form in a footnote.

outside of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are unemphatic. Means [illegible] assertion. The form à foi is generally employed to qualify a wish or imprecation.

A dieu! ce dist-il mout, trop i ont grant [illegible] dammage, Karl's R. 65?. - A foi, dist-il, Mahom te puist grever, # Bond. 7538:- Laissiez Clarembaus et quanqu'il a mandé, Et tu a foi si aies grant tu l'as aporté, Pan. Mach. 2282. - A mien foi, ce non, dye, 930.- Escuces, qui l'ocit? A ta mien foi, sire, damoisiaus de pris, Horn. 1024.

II. Forms of Adjuration.

The adjurative invocations of religious objects, pour is the preposition most frequently occurring. In adjurations by personal attributes the normal form is par plus a possessive adjective of the second-person plus object invoked. In addition to these two regular forms of adjuration we also find de par, à and en in adjurative phrases.[1]

Adjurative phrases with pour.

This form of adjuration occurs commonly in all forms of literature up to the fifteenth century. It is employed in the earliest monuments,[2] in the Roland,[3] and in works of a religious nature[4] in which forms of associa-

[1] For interjectional forms in adjurative function, see p. 41; for par la foi que vous devez, see p. [illegible]

tion by religious objects are normally rare or do not occur at all. With the fifteenth century, the oath comes to appear in the forms pour dieu[1], pour l'amour de dieu[2] and pour la merci de dieu[3].

The original function of the pour-phrase was to qualify expressions of request, prayer, command, etc.:

Dame, dit, Pour le cuer, Gloss. 171. — Merci, Guillelmes, pour sainte charité, Cor. Ke. 1394. — Pour dieu le droiturier, Pitié te prengne, Rambo. 3077. — Pour ké, si te deconforte tant: Ne dois pas parler contre mon Fabl. I, 3.

The most frequent use of the adjuration is to qualify an imperative of request or command.

[1] Viel. 88; Rond. CLXIV; Chans. du XV^es. 48; R. P. F. II, 90; Rab. I, 122, etc. [2] R. F. M. S. - J. IV, 8, 27; Rab. II, 355, etc. [3] R. F. M. S. - J. IV, 8, 27.

por Deu! saisme di, Rou. 2553. – Quemmes
nenbregs por Deu en ta prison, Ren XLIV. –
Demandez, por Deu, Fabl. I, 2. – Ostez
ore por Deu le rei Jesu, Ch. Y. 1204. –
Mon! dist il, por le cors Dé, Rose, I, 241. –
Ne por le mien bec!, Auc. 22, 14. – Por
Deu, que mon conseil voit faut!, R. P.
V, 302. –

Negative used in the employment of the
form of adjuration to qualify question. In
this case an imperative dis! or
dites! may be supplied.

Comant, por Deu, sont il donc trez?,
Ch. Lyon, 3615. – Por Deu, dites vos voir?,
ib. 1551. – Por le mien bien, ot qu'est ce ci,
Fabl. IV, 194. – Pour la douce dame qui
m'ait estre ma mere alee?, Mus. 1119. VI,
265. – Qu'en pens je, pour la trinité?,
ib. XXXI, 532.

Impersonnel agreable, —

under conditions other than those in the nouns given as an example of the oath-formulae, the phrase is used interjectionally. This interjectional value must be translated differently in different examples; it appears ordinarily to be equivalent to an expletive "please, I pray, don't", "I beg of you", "can this be true", etc.[1]

(a princess accuses Jean Chapeston of being the father of her bastard child. The Queen-mother answers) Jehan? Pour vanité trinité. Je te cuidai au plus preudomme, Mir. Mk. VI, 53 f. – Ax ouez je te tresbe mon. l'oire, pour dieu, mes amis dous, Rob. de Mar. 772. – Qu'es-ce? qu'avez vous, Theophile? Pour le grant dé! quel mautalent!, Rutebeuf II, 233. – (a husband announces a distant trip. His wife answers:) Ha, sire, pour l'ueyl de gloire, Puis est un pais moult lointain, Mir. Mk. XII, 7. – etc.

[1] See infra, p. 531.

Adjurative phrases consisting of par plus an object pertaining to the person addressed.

The forms occur commonly throughout the period under treatment in all forms of literature.

The oath is fundamentally in the nature of a conditional imprecation upon the person addressed. It accompanies commands more commonly than requests, being a demand that the speaker act as stated if he would desert the object involved. The oath is frequent in words addressed by persons of one religion to those of another.

The most frequent use of these forms is in indirect questions after imperatives such as dites!. I have found more examples of this employment of the oath later than the fourteenth century.

Quel gent sont cil de France, di par ta loiauté, Tain. 2476.— di moi, vilain, par ta foi, dont es nez?, Mynes, 859.—

par t'ame, Coste ygmage de qui est ce? Ygoins. 424.- Par ta foy, or ne me mens mie, Mais dy vray, Mir. Nd. II, 300.- Et, par vostre leautié, dites m'en pure verité, Mir. Nd. XXIX, 2272.

Je. + elle is also frequent with direct questions. This is the normal use in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Sarrasin, frere, par la foi dont tu vis, de quel lygnage es tu? Cl. Ten. 231.- Robin, par t'ame ton pere, S'a tu bien alen dou pié, Rob. et Mon. 196.- Or ça, par vostre loyauté, Ysabel, lequel vault mieux fains, Mir. Nd. XXVII, 376.- Par vostre foy?- Voyre vrayment, R.F. M.S.- f. IV, 14, 4.- Mais qu'en dites tu, par ton serment?, R. G.S. I, 166.- Est il, frere Jan, par ta foy, en estat de salvation, Rab. II, 109.

Examples are not infrequent for the employment of these forms of adjuration & emphasis

demande ... de requeste, especially the ... ex.
par mi tei que vos tenez plus walue, quar dez
de moz ne tuniez ke curage, Kol. 1478.— Damne
moi ceo porte, par ke tien ciel, Lid, 2819.—
Ne m'en parlez plus, par ... me, Nic.
Mb. XXXI, 2337.— Francoz, audiez moy,
par vostre ame, ib. XXXVII, 430.— Seignurs,
veuillez, me vos secrets descouvrir a chas-
cun, par vostre ame, ib. XXXIV, 274.—

dejunatiez plus asez vitte de pan.①

① I prefer the derivation of de par, mi tiis noz,
ont of de parte dei, just as de par le roi
ent of le parte reg. Ebeling (a.S.N.S. 110, 235) explains
depardieu as being in some cases from de par
deum. He believes that the relation between
de and par is not intimate, that the de
depends upon a verb, ~~of par it is mere~~
~~stood~~, and seems to me ...

De par dieu and de par le diable (les diables, tous les diables, etc) are by far the most

tive phrase consisting of par plus its object. This opinion is expressed in a comment upon the passage ele se reclaimme de par celui que il plus aimme ele (Ch. Lyon, 4071). In this and similar examples Ebeling's explanation would seem correct. It is possible that the same derivation may apply to de par dieu, etc. as independent oath-formulas. The regular adjurative function of these forms seems to me to make this improbable, however. The presence of an unrelated de, depending upon a verb to be supplied, should not, I believe, change the assevera-tive phrase of par plus its object into an adjurative phrase. Note the following examples in this connection:

Sire, de la part dé, Vengnies vos a mon grant besoing!, Ch. Lyon, 4400. - De part dieu, R.P.F. VIII, 32 (fourteenth century). - Ames, de par dé, date mobis cloches matines, Rab. I, 71.

The most frequent adjuration phrases with de par, & then next also le par nare-dieu,[1] de par le grand dieu,[2] de par dieu le puissant,[3] de par le roi du mont,[4] de par Nostre Seignieur,[5] de par dieu nostre sire,[6] de par [illegible],[7] de par Nostre dame,[8] de par la mere dieu,[9] de par saint Eloy (Julien)[10]; de par Saint Esprit[11] and de par la trinité.[12] De par occurs rarely with other than religious objects.[13]

De par le diable etc occurs first in the fourteenth century;[14] de par dieu and other forms occur throughout the period covered by this study.

The regular use of de par phrases is to imply imperatives of command and request, especially the former.

[1] Fabl. II, 43. [2] Rec de Farces, 18. [3] Ti Nicole. 23 v. [4] Fabl. II, 32. [5] H. Trois. Table 17. [6] H. Trois. m. a. 247. [7] Ti Nicole. 66 v. [8] H. Trois. la Rein. 153. [9] Mir. Mir. I 100 g. [10] Mir. Mir. III, 470; Fabl. I, 76. [11] Fabl. I, 72. [12] Mir. Mir. VII, 22. [13] Les de par testiers, Rem. XVI, 394; de par moy, Rec. de Farces, 34. [14] [illegible]

de-par dieu, par me lutes me, Ch. mesp. 2 77.- Alons, dist le chien, de par de, Ven. XIII, 1185.- Roi, va an essil! de par dieu, Guil. d'A. 87.- Ex, monsons, de par dieu, Mir. Mk. XXIII, 1416.- J'un buen, va, de par dieu, va, Mist. I, 248.- Paix, de par le diable, soit, Reb. I, 272.

Seeral ways of using the natural to express gladness.

Et huay, de par le dyable, huay! Et aussi bien vous ung, Th. fr. 6. v. la Ren. 23.- Et da, huay, de par Nostre dieu, Les Nolix, vs. 153.- Ho, ho (dist l'amange) de par le petit diable, Reb. II, 30.- etc.

Gladness found, but sometimes marked, with questions, a doubtful exclamation being understood.

de par dieu, fait il, fuist ce estre?, Fab. III, 231.- Ça, de par dieu, estes vous bien? Mir. Mk. IX, 1380.- Sauvage! de par le [illegible]

Rec. de Fables, 108. – de par dieu, Mir. de Marien, Rab. III, 172. – etc.

2. The deriv. adjurative phrases are found more commonly in interjectional employ, than any other form of asseveration or adjuration or invocation. In these cases the oath is very frequently preceded by oi, oa or ou ca, which indicates the interjectional, exclamatory value of the phrase. It may often be rendered in English by such expressions as "take heart!", "go ahead!", "come!" and "please!"

Mais je le vos conterai, se vos volés. De par dieu! fait Lucasse, encor ai ge mout conter qu'orendroit, Anc. 22, 24. – Va, diavle vos! Ne poriés autant comme vens voz! Ex de par dieu, Rob. et Marg. 555. – Alez vuit avoec ta meson, Quant a moi vuit s'il li a ame. De par dieu, sire, dist la dame, Fabl. IV, 101. – Et demain a vous revenray Pour mariner. De par

deçà! je vous y tout prest, Prix. 114. XIX, 206. *Si dans un même cas, même le par falaises* appear to be employed associatively, it is possible to construe the phrase as an interjection. Note the frequent appearances of the particles *or*, *ça*, *bien!*, etc.

Or ça, de par dieu, c'est bien dit, R. P. T. II, 6. — *C'est le monde. Bien de par dieu*, K. G. V. I, 40. — *Ça! de par dieu! n'y ayt cent sous!*, A. T. M. S-J. II, 4, 15. — *Or ça, de par dieu, tout par bien*, Rab. I, 63. — *Orça*, XVII-*Shons moy, dist Frippe-minaud, à cest enigme, et nous resoudz presentement que c'est, orça. Or de par dieu, respondis-ie, si i'avois Sphinx en ma maison, or de par dieu, comme i'ay dict Dernes, un de vos precurseurs, or de par dieu, resoudre pourrois l'enigme, or de par dieu, mais certes ie n'y questois mie, etc.*, Rab. III, 49-50.

adjurative phrases with en.

adjurative phrases with en occur usually in the form en (ek, on, o) mon de dieu. other forms of the adj. are en (ek, on, o) mon de la puissance haut tant[1] ek mon du fil Sainte Marie,[2] ek mon Sainte Marie[3] ou mon de la Vierge honorée,[4] en mon ... de monseigneur saint Kenys,[5] ek mon Saint Sire,[6] en mon Saint-Esprit,[7] en l'onneur du bien roy puissant[8] and en la voslre exance.[9]

It is surprising to find the oath-form en (ek, on, o) mon de dieu, normally in adjuration function,[10] whereas en mon dieu is regularly invocative.

[1] Mir. Mk. XX, 1436. [2] Escouffle, 924. [3] Mich, 10861. [4] R.g.S.I, 6a [5] Michel Roy. IV, 5[illegible]. Fabl. I, 170. [6] Ren. Mk. I 105. [7] Mir. Mk. I, 405. [8] Lyc, 1455. [9] See, however, en mon du haut roy glorieux ... Sui de mot exorzier cuvieux Rutb. I, 15; en mon de dieu ... a tenu, Mir. Mk. XXI, 220. [10] [illegible]

Adjunctive introduced by un fer. subj. mod. questions or imperatives of command or request.

Un del bien faire, al nom Sainte Marie, Leod. 1040.- Issi, en nom Saint Esprit, par. Y. I, 103.- El nom de dieu... Cest transmis soussisies, Tabl. I, 176.- En nom de dieu, ouellés mon pardonnes, Chans. du XVe S. 56.- Marchons en nom de dieu, Mich. et Roy. IV, 366.

Adjunctive-phrases with à.

The preposition à is found only occasionally in adjunctive phrases. Au nom de dieu is found often actually written out and, beyond the centuries, other forms, also from the Middle French, are au nom de saint jule, au diable de enfer and à l'onneur monsei-

[1] Hatz. au 16e Ren. 305; R. N. F. I, 46. [2] R. F. M. S. F. II, 13, S. [3] Tab. I, 343.

grieu saunct Fiacre!

Quentin les, au mon de dieu, R.P.F. I, 46.—

Ne nous veuilles pas addresser [illegible]

au mont de sainct fille R.P. M.S. - I. II, 13, 8.—

A l'honneur monseigneur saunct Fiacre,

Faites moy quelque charité, R.y.s. I, 7.

III. Confusion of associative and adjurative forms.

In the published texts we have examined it is not infrequent to find associative forms in adjurative function and vice versa. In most cases this seems to be the result of errors on the part of scribes or editors, brought about by the similarity between par and pour and par.[1] Frequently emendations in punctuation move the oath in more normal context. Frequently also the occurrence of associations in adjurative context and vice versa may be explained by assuming an interjection, value, to the oath. In some cases, finally, the confusion may possibly have existed in the minds of the Old French.

The most extensive confusion of this kind is the use of associative forms with fus

[1] Note the similarity of ms. symbols for par & pour & and & respectively.

un adjunctive function.[1] Examples of pour in associative function are rare. In the case of de par, it was quite possible that a confusion between it and par existed in M.F. usage; see one of the following examples, may illustrate this.

Et je le grant, de par dé, Fabl. IX, 127. – de par dieu, en mussi bon point une te vaillis, te vous rendray, Mir. M. N. X, 697. – de par dieu, ce n'est pas bien dit, Rond. CLXI, – [illegible] que de par le diable c'estoit, Mir. Sacr., Sept. Sages, 20. – Je suis ta foulle de par dieu, R. P. 7. IX, 263.

[1] In such examples as the following this construction is adjunctive grammatically but not logically.

Sur vrayes, par dieu!, Mir. M. N. XXVII, 964. – Par tous les saints qu'en prie a Liege, De Ysengrin c'ami pleige... Voiez por ce estre pendu?, Ren. XIII, 2003. – Par l'ondre dé, quels est vostre fierté!, Fabl. I, 186.

IV. Foi que doi ele.

The invocation of the faith one of the objects of invoked occurs so frequently and in such variant forms as to deserve special treatment.

The forms of most common occurrence may be represented by the formula [par ta (celle) (grande)] foi que (je) [(a)-] dois [(a)-] porter in asseveration, with the corresponding forms (par la) foi que vous (tu) doi, (dois) in adjuration.[1]

These forms of invocation are found throughout the period under examination. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they appear far less frequent than in the twelfth, thir-

[1] The following sporadic forms have been found: Par ta foi que je vos plevi, Ren. V a, 924; Par celle foi ke je vos ai portee, Alise. 2870; Par cele foi ke j'ai a dex porte, ib. 3285; Par foi que j'le dieu, Otin. 285; par la foi que ge ai presentee Charlon de France, Aym. Nan. 1370; Par cele foi que me plevistes, Fabl. III, 241; par

no occurrences in Rabelais.

twelfth and fourteenth centuries; all normal objects of invocation are invoked in these forms. The most frequently occurring specific forms are (par ta) foi que (je) vous dois ete. in asseveration and (par ta) foi que vous (tu) me devez (dois) ete. in adjuration. The forms of adjuration invoking objects of personal relation like possessive adjectives sometimes remain in the first person and sometimes change to the second.[1]

These forms occur generally in serious context; their value is comparatively emphatic, the asseverative forms occurring with especial frequency in solemn [illegible]

m'avez baillie, Joinv. 398; Par celle foy qu'a moy avez, Mist. Mf. XXIII, 1661; par ta grant foy Et fermes qu'ay en toy, ib. XXXV, 1310. See fol. [1] An infrequent; compare: Foi que tu dois t'ame ton pere, Ren. XXIII, 292; Par ta foi devez mon cors, Tab. X, [illegible]

reference, Rencl., Ille., Illec adjuratoire forme du commands and urgent appeals.

Cme, foi que doi, sainte Marie, Ne pes de mon cors pitié, Ren. I, 175. — Lui, dist il, foi que doés, moi, Cest vallet a ostel, mener, Ch. II esp. 1340. — Foi que tu dois, saint Marie! Taisiés-vous-ent, Ph. Bs. Cum. a. 182. — Cn di, Par quelle foi que tu dois, mi, Le plus grant joie e'aine cuisses, Rob. et Mar. 1172. — Foi que doi, saint Pere t'aportre... or voi ge bien, R Chart. 1776. — Mon cest, biaus niés, foi que dois, saint Denys, Jen. Ch. I, 268. — Cn me di verité, Par la foi que tu dois, sainte cresteinté, J Bourg. 1492. — Mais, par la foi que doi a mes barons, S'on me donnoit Senlis cité, Jourd. Bl. 401. — Dame, foi que ge doi mon cors, Ge m'en istrai, Fabl. I, 215. — Foi que ge doi, sainte Marie, Tel amende vous en penai, ib. III, 286. — Que tous jus tas, foi que doi m'ame, Gloris. 681. — Par la foi que [illegible]

Foy que nous fault acheminer, Mich. Mk. III, 644.— Plus ne me tenray donc ceans, Monseigneur, foy que je vous doy, ibid. XII, 697.— par la foy que dois a Dieu, jamais ne mengeray, Mich. et Pon. Fr. Berth. du Guesch. ch. XXXII.— Foe que je dois a Nostre Dame, Je entens la une autre coquin, R.G.S. I, 5.— dictes-moy, foy que me devez, Le vous l'confessions vostres, R.P.F. V, 210.

I. Interjectional or exclamatory forms of asseveration and adjuration.

As above stated,[1] we are here concerned with exclamatory invocations only when they are asseverative or adjurative in character and are evidently abbreviated from normal asseverative or adjurative forms through the omission of the preposition. With the exception (par la) foi que, dois... etc. and (par la) foi que vous devez, forms of asseveration and adjuration without the preposition do not occur currently before the fifteenth century.[2] Throughout the period covered in this study the names of religious personages occur in exclamatory invocations that are not asseverative or adjurative. In such cases the invocation is fundamentally an utterance in prayer

[1] Cf. p. 5. [2] Le poitron d'Acre!, Mist. Mar. XL, 186; Oil, roon d'Acre!, ib. XXXIII, 1296.

on themselves; out of this usage there developed naturally an interjectional function. The most common of these forms is Dieu!; Sainte Marie! and the names of saints also occur frequently. In the following explanation value of the invocations may be best brought out by supplying aide!, sois béni, etc. Note in this connection the adverbial phrase in the first two examples.

Dieu! dist li cuens, par ta toi merci, Ne truis mais home ne me veille traïr, Rol. 1141. – Dieu, dist li quens, par ta grant poesté! Les plus vaillanz m'a tuit tant mort porté, La soie ame mi a durement grevé, Car par lui ont paien Baucant tué, Alisc. 150, – Dieu! dist la dame, con fuis de duel morir!, R Car. Br. 331. – Sainz Denise! qui sont cil contatant? Orson, 3688. – Sainte Marie!, dist il, ou est mes fus?, Alisc. 6182. – Deus! fait ele, cui si ge la?, Ch. Lyon, 3516. –

Sainte Marie! j'oi Robin! Je croi qu'il sont entrepris, Rob. et Mar. 334.

In the Middle French there is evidently a chance for confusion between true interjectional invocations such as in the above examples and interjectional forms derived from associative and adjunctive prepositional phrases. In verifying examples of the latter construction, we must depend upon the prior existence of the pure associative or adjunctive form with a preposition and upon the normal occurrence of the phrase in evident associative or adjunctive function. At this period of the language, pure associative and adjunctive forms of invocation are found in interjectional function; it is to be expected that the derived interjectional forms should be noted.

The objects of invocation found in such interjectional forms are: Dieu qualified by a preceding adjective, sacré dieu! mon dieu!

attributes of God the Father and God the Son, vertu de dieu!, sang dieu!, le sang de dieu!; Sainte Marie!, Notre Dame!; the saints in such forms as Saint Jean!, Jean!, vertu de saint et George!; miscellaneous holy material objects, such as croix de dieu!; certain personal attributes, such as mon âme!, ma foi!, mon serment!, (ma) foi de gentilhomme!

Out of these groups, the invocations of dieu with a preceding adjective, of the Virgin and of the saints are not liable to confusion with pure interjectional (swear-word) examples from the fifteenth century and later of vrai dieu!, Sainte Marie! etc., it is obviously difficult to decide in many cases whether their use has developed out of vrai dieu, aide, etc or out of par (pour, de par) le vrai dieu. The following expressions, from their function, may be reasonably supposed to be asseverative or adjurative in origin.

sacré dieu, vous chiriez par tout, Rab. II, 308. - Par sang dieu, ony fait mainctz abus, R. P. 7. XII, 89. - Pour estre Christians trigarsens et volet. - Aug, Prologue, Rab. II, 4 &c.

Compare also:

Beau dieu, je t'ay veu en tel cours, Th. fre. ed. la Ren. 135. — Dieu dieu! qu'il estoit bien fait!, Chans. du XVIe. s., 4. — Sainte Marie! tu dis bien, K. F. MS. fr. III, 16, 17. — Sainte Marie! de quoy cuides-vous que je vis?, Th. fre. ed. la Ren. 101. —

Attributes of God like Father and God like Son, as well as certain holy objects, are especially frequent in the interjectional form of invocation. They occur in two forms, with the article and without.

Corbieu, si j'avois mon dict. Je croy que je m'en irois pendre, Rec. de Farces, 148. — Corps bieu!, dictes-vous que j'ay tort?, K. F. MS. fr. I, 21, 12. — Sang bieu, mort bieu, j'en batray quatre, K. P. F. X, 241. — Croys bieu, si j'en scray informee, K. F. MS. fr. II, 15, 6. —

Le Sacrement dieu, non feray, Rec. de Farces, 105. — La vertu bieu! Quel faquenas!, K. F. XL, 203. — La chair bieu, bien fut dict [illegible]

M. fr. au. ta Ren. 177.– ta mort tuer, je te vengeray Et ton vouloir accompliray, ib. 184.– le corps bieu! fis-je, suis je puis?, R.P.T. VI, 205.

The saints under which oaths are uttered commonly in these forms Saint–! and vertu (ventre, sang) Saint–!. The invocation of St Jean was found frequently Jean!①

Et je suis mon, saint Coquibaut!, M. fr. au. ta Ren. 341.– d'entre saint Jacques! que bagrons, mons ce-pendent, Rab. I, 104.– Saint Jehan, je vous en vengeray, Rec. de farces, 11.– Jehan! Vertu sainct Pot! qu'est-ce a dire?, M. fr. au. ta Ren. 193.– Jehan, me moy, ib. 441.

Associative invocations of personal attributes in interjectional forms have been found only for these attributes âme, foi, serment, corps and vertu. No adjurative forms such as ta foi, etc.

① See also Jacques < par saint Jacques, A. M. fr.

oreux.

Mon ame, il s'est ouy tormenté, Mistre. au Roi Ren. 382.— Ma foy... tant que je ay ... vante, je tiendray t'estat de Bruges, R.T. M.S. T. II, 17, 6.— Ouy, ma foy!, ib. I, 7, 12.— Foy de mon corps, il est tant gay, Mistre. au Roi Ren. 240.— Foy de gentilhomme, il vault mieulx plourer moins, Reb. I, 231.— Monsegnement, j'en croy de bonne, Mistre. au Roi Ren. 371.— Corps de moy, il m'adoucit ...

B. Processes of oath-formation.

I. Oath-strengthening.

The attempt to make normal oath-forms more emphatic is evidenced in various ways. Such strengthening may take place within the clause or within the oath-formula.

1. Within the clause.

The simplest means adopted is that of doubling.

Par Deu et par la croiz, Enc. 1520. - Foi que doi Deu et ces croiz, Ch. Lyon, 2530. - Par ceu dont ge me doteie en vie, Morgan le cecil o li volons flambie, Li Mer. 5384. - pour le vaire et pour le fors, Par la froissure et par la teste, Fabl. III, 196. - Par saint Nicholas, Notre Dame, maistresse, (je) suis cas, K. q. S. I, 16.

Repetition appears occasionally

Par Dieu, par Dieu ... Dieus de cuer ca douce mere, Flore 719. - Par Dieu, par Dieu

tout que le seigne dure, N'en mentagnet, R.y.s. I, 204.

Exceptional position.

Aquelle fui, par dieu, qu'il me adomine, Thefg. ad. ta Ren. 62.- Quar, segnor, par dieu, mon cuic, Tabl. I, 127.- Ja n'en serons par saint Pol, tant, sions. 624

2. Within the oath-form.

The invocations of a serious character strengthening is advanced by the addition of a modifying word, phrase or clause. Such forms as par dieu de paradis, - de majesté, - qui de vierge nasquit ete, which are particularly common in the chansons de geste, are evidently at times emphatic forms of simple invocations of dieu, though they also serve the function of time-fillers etc. The profane invocations employed in general by educated men differed and often by

fauty and vacillogeneous of the exclamations, viz: par le vaint sang bleu, par le vieu dieu, Sanq vaint Jean!, par la mort bœuf de boyd, par la grant croy de dieu, etc.

II. Explanation.

The process of explicitation observed in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries only in literature of a popular nature or in utterances of persons of low rank. With the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, towards the close of the period understudy, the various explicitistic forms become fixed in the language. In the very earliest monuments of French literature we find that adjuration was common, but that execration does not occur.[1] during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth

[1] Sec p. 336.

contexts, both association and adjuration are common in texts of a distinctly religious character.[1] At this period and later, in decrees of the church and of saints and in religious literature, frequent condemnation is expressed of the habit of swearing by God the Virgin and the Saints.[2] We are led to the conclusion that association and adjuration by religious objects was not blamed so long as the utterance was sincere and truthful and not vulgar in form. The condemnation expressed is directed against invocations of a frivolous and sacrilegious character. Euphemistic forms that arise occur only in frivolous context.[3]

[1] See essays of Gautier de Coincy, p. 364 ff; of Marcellus de Mostre Dame pour personnages, p. 268 ff. [2] See Jocelin, pp. 5-10. [3] In the Miracles de Notre Dame

The application of euphemism to oaths affects generally the name dieu. The forms of euphemism have noted from the twelfth to the thirteenth century use of these words: through omission of dieu, through deformation

personnages (p. 72-[illegible]) we find that the association from par dieu is rare, whereas associations by dieu qualified (par dieu de..., par dieu qui...) occur commonly. This may be a process of euphemism, consisting in emphasizing the solemnity of the invocation to avoid being taken as speaking frivolously. See Busch, p. 7.

① Compare, however:
Saint gris (p. 201), possibly; according to Zöckler (p. 89) coming from Saint Christ. Possibly also, Jean! < Saint Jean! (p. 210). Mardé, etc. < mère de dieu (Zöckler, 91-3), tres) dame, etc. < Notre dame (Zöckler, 75:6) and similar forms are found in the second half of the eighteenth century and later.

tion of dieu and through substitution for dieu. Omission of dieu.

Found at all periods. It is particularly common in the fabliaux and Renart and is the form adopted usually in Gautier de Coinci and the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages in depicting the speech of the lower classes. From the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, three forms of euphemism. Words signs of disappearing.

pour le sanc et pour le foie, Rom. La poissun et pour la teste, Fabl. III, 196.— par la cenocle boucle, ib. VI, 3.— par le cuer et par les plaies, Ren. I, 726.— Par la mort, ib. XVI, 756.— Par le sanc et par la boiselle, Mir. N.-D. XXVI, 1110.— Par la mort, R. T. M. S.-J. II, 4, 8.— vertu!, ib. III, 14, 7.[1]

[1] also: gCoinc. 156, 171, 249; Ren. I, 722; Fabl. II, 79; [illegible] ad. La Ren. 161 [illegible]

Reformation of dieu.[1]
bieu, beu,[2] bu,[3] be[4]!

These forms occur at all periods; in the fifteenth and sixteenth they are very far the most frequent euphemisms. Assimilation of the d to the labial in par dieu may have helped to develop these forms.

par le cuer bieu, J. Corns. 619. — par le cuer beu, mes n'en escapera, Gayd. 2404. — Molt sui lions, par le cuer be, Ren. XII, 572. — Par le cuer bieu, ib. VII, 581. — Par le cul bieu, qui est ce donc, Tabl. I, 273. — Et, par le sang bieu! nous sommes plus poures, Th. fr. ao. la Ren. 43. — Par le mort bieu! Ça! vien t'en boire, ib. 103.

[1] Tobler (p. 39-40) treats dé in en nom dé, par le cors dé, etc. as a euphemism. [2] Gayd. 2404, 2409, 4394; Tabl. I, 48 (twice); Ren. XII, 501. [3] Tabl. I, 20. [4] Ren. I, 1047; II, 1185; VII, 373, 583; X, 1453; XII, 966; XIV, [illegible].

dienne (rare):

Par la chair dienne, R. 7. III. 3-7. III, 13, 20. ①

Euphemism by substitution.

boeuf:

Very common in Rabelais

Mangerons de l'oye, con boeuf, Rab. II, 147. ②

bois:

Common in Rabelais

Ie leur veulx, vray bois, constituer... quelque bonne rente, Rab. II, 191 ③

bot (one example):

Vray bot bren ie y pense. Rab. II, 26.

① Also: Rab. II, 317. ② Also: ib. II, 102, 174, 305, 306, 387, 436, 504; III, 138; etc. ③ Rab. II, 32, 289, 442, 446, 461, 501; ib. III, 186; A. Th. fr. I, 361.

gouy (= german Gott[1]?):

Sporadic in the fifteenth and sixteenth, l'autre quoy (list Panurge), senoys-ie bien Vulcan?, Rab. II, 62.[2]

among other sporadic forms of euphemism by substitution we might mention.

Corps de moi! Mk. frç. au. ta Ren. 270. – Dextus d'un petit poisson, Rab. II, 387. – L'extus d'autre que d'un petit poisson, ib. II, 159. – Par la vertus, non pas d'un petit poisson, ib. I, 126.

[1] See Gottfried, p. 12.

[2] Also: Rab. I, 272; ib. II, 34, 174, 362; III, 112; N.T. mss-fr. III, 13, 13; Mk. Th. frç. I, [illegible]

Chapter 2. Objects of Invocation.

A. II. Religious.

I H. Christian.

1. God the Father.

The distinction between God the Father and God the Son is not generally to be recognized in invocations of deus. A number of oath-formulas, however, consisting in an invocation of Jésus or Christ by name, or of deus with a descriptive phrase or of a physical attribute of deus, are evidently invocations of God the Son. I have placed these forms in a special class, and include under the present classification only such invocations of deus as are not evidently directed to the Son of God.

Forms of invocation of God which do not clearly invoke God the Son may be divided formally and, on a broader

functionally into five groups: a. Dieu without qualifiers; b. Dieu preceded by an attributive or possessive adjective; c. Dieu, expressed or understood, with a following adjective or appositive qualifier; d. Dieu or a substitute followed by a relative clause; e. Indirect invocation of Dieu through the medium of some abstract attribute.

a. Dieu without qualifiers.

par dieu:

This assevération oath has been frequent at almost all periods. In the earliest monuments and in the Poland it does not occur, and it is found very rarely in the Miracles[1] of the thirteenth and

[1] Mir. N.D. XV, 70; XXV

fourteenth centuries. In the chansons de geste (one example to 1000 lines), the fabliaux (one in 1575 lines) and the Renart (one in 1500 lines), this oath is one of the most frequently used formulas of asseveration. The courtly Epic furnishes scattered occurrences.[1] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, taking all forms of literature, par dieu is the most popular single oath-formula; in the drama its occurrence is in the proportion of one in 600 lines. The relatively great number of examples in polite and elevated poetry of these two centuries is to be especially noted.[2]

[1] Thèbes, 1203, 3179; Ch. Lyon, 7; Erec, 1819; Escanfle, 3926, 5956. [2] C. Mar. I, 220, 246, etc.; Chans. du XV^e S. 19; Rond. VI, XXI, XXXVII, XLV, LIV, LX, CI, CII, CXI, CXXI, CLI, CLV

The absence of par dieu from the Roland and from the religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would seem to indicate that the oath was very emphatic and its employment improper or sacrilegious. The appearance of the oath in polite literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows the loss of this character.

The syntactic function of par dieu is very broad. It appears under all the conditions under which we find any oath occurring. It may be employed very unemphatically to modify simple statements, the answers to questions, mild expressions of assent and dissent:

As tu ma teste? Oil, par dé, H. m. B. 818. — Et qu'est-ce, Renart? Qu'aoez pris? Par deu, ci a une

soriz, Ren. XXVI 101. – Il faut prendre le temps si comme il est. Voire, par dieu, mais ce temps n'est pas bel, Eust. Desch. I, 145. – Par dieu, nenny, Casse Tuileau, Mist. I, 259. – Mais qui cuide avoir l'avantaige Ung tel bien, par dieu, n'est pas saige, Pond. LLI. – N'est-il pas vray? Ouy, par dieu!, R.g.S. II, 368.

It may be used emphatically to accompany a solemn promise, threat or defiance:

Par dieu, veillant, por noiant en parlés. Jamais vers moi ne serés acordés, RLambr. 8699. – Par dieu, sire, je n'irai hui, Se vous ne venés avoec mi, Th. fr. au m.a. 33. – Par dieu, fet il, dang glos, vos i mentez, Orenge, 609;

or to emphasize the expression

strong emotion:

dist Rainouars: Merveille voi, par dé, Si petite arme qui a tel poëste, Alisc. 6787. — Par dieu, fait il, cou est grant mal, H. m. B. 681. — Par dieu, dame, j'ay grant despit, Tk. fç. av. la Ren. 81.

On a few examples par dieu seems to be used as an interjection, to express the speaker's emotion, and not as an asseveration, to emphasize the truth of an utterance:

A hidden spy is speaking to himself of Charlemagne: Par dieu, ço dist l'escolte, forz estes e membrez; Ainc fols fist li reis Hugues, quant vus prestat ostel!, Karl's R. 465. — Par dieu! vous en pensiez bien taire! Tk. fç. av. la Ren. 108. — Par dieu, quant il 'ay espié [illegible]

que bastre, me vouldroict, R. 7 MS-F. I, 20, 11.

pan bieu!

This euphemistic form of pan dieu, representing a transitional stage, phonetically, towards the Modern French form panbleu!, in the texts examined occurs for the first time in the 14th century.[1] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it becomes frequent, but its employment is confined to popular dramatic literature. The increasing frequency of the occurrence of pan bieu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is very marked; in dramatic pieces of the fifteenth it occurs approximately once in [illegible]

[1] Fabl I, 03; 1st half fifteenth century. Pièces

in those of the first half of the sixteenth once in 600 times.

Par Dieu was a very emphatic oath restricted to use in frivolous context. In the drama, it is found rarely in the Moralités, Sotties or Sermons Joyeux, but is frequent in the more coarse and outspoken farces, such as the "Farce Moralisée a .IV. personnages",① the 'Farce de Pathelin'②, "L'Aventureux",③ etc.

Dame Anieuse is speaking to Sire Hain: Par Dieu, je ne vous doute guere, fet cele, pou vostre manace, Fabl. I, 103. – Et par Dieu, tu ne bien enfaine, Rec. de Farces, 103. – Fenay. Et par Dieu non feray, Que n'ayez prise vostre repas, Farce

① Rec. de Farces, 155-161. ② Hist. de la Ren. ③ Rec. de Farces, I, 1-

de Pathelin, Th. fr. au. ta Ren. 93. — J'y prendrai peine si bien qu'il y sera, A quelque fois, par dieu, qu'il en advienne, Th. fr. au. ta Ren. 62. etc.

de par dieu:

The first examples of this formula are found in the Jeu St Nicholas[2] and Aucassin et Nicolete[3]. It is comparatively frequent in the Courtly Epic[4] of the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, but is rare in the fabliaux[5], the Renart[6] and the chansons de geste[7]

[1] See Introduction, p. 26-7. [2] Th. fr. au. m.a. 182. [3] 18, 37; 22, 24. [4] Guill. d'A. 83; Ren. 3244, 3364; Ch. Il. esk. 3694, 3737; Guill. Pal. 5274. [5] I, 307; III, 230; IV, 98, 101, 129. [6] XIII, 1185; XIV, 277. [7] Chr. Aym. 2403; Li Mort. 2360.

becomes very frequent in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages[1] and is repeatedly employed in both the and popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[2]

Originally de par dieu was an adverbial phrase meaning, 'on the part of God,' 'in the name of God,' 'from God':

> ganda, si vid grand clarité de cel vindre, fud de par deu, Vie de St Léger, Bartsch und Horning, 13, 4. – Jesus speaks: de par Dieu, en aussi bon point que le baillez, le vous rendray, Mir. N.D. V, 697.

[1] I, 220, 298, 788; V, 697; VI, 133; IX, 1300; XII, 318; XIX, 206; XXIII, 1416; XXIX, 714; XXXV, 291. [2] Mist. I, 248; R.R.T. II, 6; ib. IV, 263; ib. VIII, 32; R.g.S. I, 40, 124; Rond. CLXI; Fab. 19, 177, 303; etc. [3] See also: M Aym. 2403; Fabl. IV, 127; R.R.T. IV, 263; Rond. CLXI

The use of de par dieu as an asseverative oath, to qualify statements, is very limited.[1] The few examples I have found of this use of the oath seem to be the result of confusion with par dieu:

Et je le grant de par Dé, Fabl. IV, 129.-

Je l'otri de par Ké, Mlaym. 2403.

From the first the oath was regularly employed to emphasize expressions of prayer and command in adjurative function:

Esprit je t'adjure .... Tu laisse ce corps langoureux de par Dieu et retire toy, Vie de St Mathurin, R. P. 7. XII, 405. - Qui li dist: Rois, va an exil! de par Deu, Guil. d'A. 83, - A nu prenons de par Dieu, R Clary, 41. etc.

[1] Zöckler (p. 26) appears to consider de par dieu and par dieu as synonymous.

The syntactic function of de par dieu was developed further than that of most adjurative oaths. Numerous examples are found where it is used without any expressed imperative of request or command, and where, to complete the meaning, we must supply some imperative such as va!, allez!, faites! or dis!. In these examples we notice the frequent appearance of the particles or and ça in evidence of the ellypsis of an imperative:

The shepherd boys are speaking to Aucassin: Mais, je le vos conterai, se vos volés - de par dieu (= Please do!), fait Aucassins, encor aim je mix conter que ment, Auc. 22, 24. — A knight threatens to keep Ledoine in prison until she marry his son. She answers: Or de par dieu (= ok so), je serai ci tant com vos le voldrés

sera, Mir. 3864. – Et demain a vous revenray Bien matinet – de par dieu! je seray tout prest, Mir. M. de. XIX, 206. – A! ça, de par dieu (= Say, then), me doibz ie marier?, Rab. II, 172. – Alez vuell avec la raison, Quar. savoir vueil s'il y a ame – de par dieu, sire, dist la dame., Fabl. IV, 01.[1]

In some cases we find de par dieu employed in company with an interjection, being itself apparently an interjection of pleasure. In these cases it is unnecessary to supply an imperative such as va! faites! or dites! in order to complete the meaning of the sentence:

A! ça, de par dieu, c'est bien

[1] See also: Fabl. III, 230; IV, 98; Mir. M. de. IV, 1300; Rab. I, 53.

it, R. P. T. II, 6. — C'est le Monde. Bien! de par dieu!, R. G. S. I, 40. — Sa! de par dieu! i'ey cent escus! R. T. M. S - T. II, 4, 15°.

pour dieu:

As all forms of adjuratide oath, which are not frivolous or indecent in their signification, pour dieu occurs frequently in serious function especially in works of a religious character. It is found in the Alexis[1], Roland[2], and the M... de Gautier de Coincy[3], in which texts par dieu in asseveration is not found, and shows many examples in the Miracles de N... D...

[1] Alex. XLIV, etc. [2] Rol. 1473, 1693, 1741, etc.
[3] G. Coinc., I 9, 2 8, etc.

par personnages nous n'avons found only three occurrences of par dieu.[1] In the chansons de geste, fabliaux and the Renart the examples of par dieu are in the proportion of one in 700 lines approximately, or almost twice as frequent as those of par dieu. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries employment of pour dieu becomes less frequent and par dieu shows about four times as many occurrences. Only in the religious drama do the adjurative and asseverative forms display the same frequency (one in 200 lines).

pour dieu is employed regularly as an adjurative oath to modify verbs of prayer and imperatives:

> Dos prient pour dieu que vos vi[ve]
> Vilch. 12 – Se pour dieu merci me requist, R Chasn. 911 – Donez, pour dieu,

[1] Compare p. 55.

Rutebeuf. II, 17. — Pour Dieu, sire, or li pardonnés, Rob. et Mar. 347. - Pour Dieu, qu'il me soit pardonné, K. R. 7. IV, 90.

The imperative, supposedly dis! or lites!, may be omitted, and the oath modify directly a question

Sire cumpainz, pur Deu que vus en tuastes?, Rol. 1693. — Comant, por Deu, sont il donc ore?, Ch. Lyon, 3615.

or be used independently with the imperative understood

Un conseil je te tresque mener. Voire, pour Dieu (= Please do), mes amis dous, Rob. et Mar. 772.

[Par celle(ta) foi que(je) dois(à) Dieu], [par celle(ta) foi que [je] Dieu dois], par ta foi que je dois Dieu porter[1], par foi que j'le dis[2], par cele foi be j'ai a Deu porte[3] ... the corresponding adjurative forms [par celle(ta) foi que vous (tu) devez (dois) à Dieu, etc.

[1] Alisc. 3165; Amis. Am. 1005. [2] Ctin. 238. [3] Alisc. 1653.

These forms occur throughout the period covered by this study in both profane and religious literature. Only in the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages do they appear in frequent employment (over 5'00 lines).

The value of both the associative and adjunctive forms is serious and emphatic. Even in the fabliaux and farces they occur nearly in a frivolous context:

Il me vouldra tormir, voy que doy dire le bel, Et me despendera tout mon meuble cele, Th. Cap. 15'0 — Par cele foy je j'ai a dire porte, Je li donnai a manguier a planté, Mist. 3285 — Par s'ocesist, foy que doi dieu, Il me grafe, quant l'apercui, H. u. Bl. 1049. Menin. Foy que ie doy a dieu Vous auxi ie cuit reformater, R. 7. M. S — J. I, 17, 6 — S'il me vient, par la foy, [illegible]

- A dieu jé l'ameray jamais, N. fre, au. la Rem. 307 — dieu, adonc, foy que tu doiz a dieu, amis, Mir NS, XXXIII, 1468- Par cele foi que ti dois deu porter, Vées tu homme qui nus pleust resambler, H. u. Bl. 93.

b. Dieu preceded by possessive or attributive adjective

This form of oath is rare to appear in common usage. No occurrences appeared in the Chansons de geste or the Roman de Renart. Our first example is from the works of Gautier de Coincy[1]; one case occurs in the fabliaux[2] and one in Rutebeuf.[3] H. T. u.

[1] Par le grand dieu, Q Poems. 561 — [2] Par le saint dieu, Tabl. II, 163 — [3] Par le grand dé, Rutéb, II, 230.

ejuration found several times in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages[1]; during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath becomes relatively frequent especially in popular literature[2]. During these centuries occurrences of the interjectional forms without the preposition and article outnumber the full asseveration forms. In certain cases such as S acré dieu! and bon dieu! the adjuration asseveration forms do not appear at all.

In general these oaths seem to be used in both asseveration and adjuration, although our examples do not prove this for every specific form. They were originally emphatic oaths of a serious character, as is shown by the fact that frequent employment of them

[1] Mir. N.E. IV, 1190; I, 774; 1027; XXXV, 1119, 1273. [2] R. of S. II, 363; R. of M. S-of. I, 19, 25; ib. IV, 3, 8; R. of R. VI, 208; ib. IX, 118; H. de av. la Ren. 52, 125, 9; R. of M. S-of. I, 57;

in Scint Foreign religious literature. In the fifteenth century their sacred character disappears, euphemistic forms are found such as par le saint bien[1] and par dieus![2], and the context in which they are employed is usually distinctly frivolous.

(a) The preceding qualifier is a possessive adjective.

We must here discriminate between this oath as employed by Christians and a similar oath found frequently in the utterances of pagans or in utterances of Christians in address to pagans.[3] The pagan form of the oath is generally in the plural, par mes dieus, par nos dieus, and if the singular par mon dieu be employed, it stands in apposition with the name of the pagan deity, as: par mon [illegible]

[1] A. Fr. Gr. I, 334. [2] Vocab. 203, 2 Suite. [3] Scarborough, p. 26.

dieu Mahommet, etc. The Christian form of the oath is par mon dieu.

This oath-form does not appear before the fifteenth, but occurs sporadically in this and the following century. The interjectional form mon dieu! is far more frequent than the associative form par mon dieu.

Y'ne fust jamais, par mon dieu!, K.F. M.S-J. II, 2, 9. — Si bien assis que, par mon dieu, Hz en alloyent tous mieulx, R.P.F. X, 271.[1]

(b.) The preceding qualifies is an attributive adjective.

beau (one example):

Beau dieu je l'ay veu en tel cours, Mist. av. la Ren. 135.

[1] See also: R.G.S. I, 210.

benoît (one example):

Et, benoist dieu! les belles tripes!
R.7. M.S.-J. I, 5, 7.

bon (very rare):

Jame, par le bon dieu poissant, li fait son vilain et orrible, Mir Mde. IV, 1196.[1]

grand (sporadic):

Occurrences are found only in the religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in profane drama and poetry of the fifteenth.

Par le grand dieu, j'en ai esté Et sui encore si plain d'ire Qu'il me semble qu'om me martire, Mir Mde. V, 1027. – Par le grant dieu, sy feron

[1] See also: Rab. II, 21.

mons, Ch. frç. au 14e Ren. 5'. - Pour le grand Dé! pour mauvalent! Rute b. II, 235;①

sacré:

Within the period up to 1550 only two examples are known to me. Since that date the word has become frequent.②

Sacré dieu vous chiurez par tous les saints que les aurez veus, Rab. II, 5'c 8.③

saint (rare):

Only three examples are known to me.

Par le saint dieu, chiexresponds; ie consens ce qui est tous ce mi, Rabl. II, 103.④

(très puissant (one example):

Par le très puissant dieu, ie iure, Mist. I, 25'5.

① Also: Gloria 501; Mir. Mk. V, 774; id. XXXV, 1119, 1273; Ch. frç. au 14e s. 5'8; Chans. du XVes. 80. ② See Zeckler, s.v. Sac'; ③ Also: Rab. II, 309. ④ Also: Gar. Kol. I, 41; A. H. frç. I, 334.

vrai:

Not found before the fifteenth century, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries its employment is characteristic of popular literature. The interjectional form (te) vrai dieu[1] (Hor.[2]) is much more frequent than the asseverative form par le vrai dieu.[3]

On, par le vray dieu, j'ay grant [illegible] de vous dle., R.G.S. II, 362. — Comment, par vous que faisoit Mon bon marchand? Par le vray dieu, je me battoit, R.P.F. VI, 182. — Je luy veulx, vray dieu, constituer ... quelque bonne rente, Rab. II, 91. — Mais grant j'ay bien ce cas congneu, Vray dieu! on y fait mainte abus, R.P.F. XII, 89.

[1] Chans. du XVes. 4; Th. freq. as te Ren. 277; R.P.F. VI, 208; ib. IX, 101; ib. XII, 89; R.F.M.S.F. I, 19, 20; ib. IV, 3, 8; Rab. I, 376, II, 122, 414, 498.
[2] Rab. II, 32, 91, 284, 442, 446, 461, 501; III, 186. [3] R.P.F. VI, 182; R.G.S. II, 362, 363; Th. freq. as te Ren. 1[illegible]

C. Dieu, expressed or understood with a following adjective or appositive qualifier. This form of invocation of dieu differs widely from the preceding form, where the qualifier precedes dieu, both in the matter of literary and chronological usage and of syntactic function. As seen above, the latter type of oath is characteristic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and furnishes only sporadic examples for the centuries preceding. Oaths of the type par (pour) dieu le beau, par (pour) dieu le spirituel, etc., on the other hand, are with few exceptions[1] confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their occurrence is especially frequent in the chansons de geste (one to each 650 lines) and the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages

[1] R. P. F. IV, 7; R. & M. S- J. IX, 12, 11; id. II, 15;

(ou to 4000 Luis).

The context of the oaths is serious or religious, as opposed to the fictions nature of the invocations with preceding qualifier. They were probably, main oaths in popular & folk usage. Their form was undoubtedly largely determined by the demands of the rhyme, as, generally, the following adjective or substantive qualifier stands in rhyme-position.

The different forms of the oath occur in both association and adjuration. No occurrences of the interjectional form have been found.

dieu le veau (vare):

Hue vous la donnes, foy que doy dieu le veel, H Cap, 170.

(*dieu*) *le creatour* (*rare*) :

Qui me faudra, par dieu le creator, Ja de ma terre ne sera mais plain d'or Jouel. Bl. 385'8. ①

dieu le debonnaire (*rare*) :

Et moy, par dieu le debonnaire, Mir Md. II, 1045. ②

dieu le droiturier (*sporadic*) :

E! R. sire, par dieu le droiturier, Pitié le-preigne, R Camb. 3077. ③

dieu le spirituel (*sporadic*) ④ :

Mais or croi jo, par dieu l'espertal, Ja por tant poi garde me s'en donna, # Bord. 5'711. ⑤

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① See also : Gloria 5'46; Chan. du XV^e S. 100 - ② See also : Mir Md. XXVIII, 31 - ③ See also : R Camb. 2020; R. 7 M. 5-7 IV, 12, 4 - ④ O.F. *espertable, espertal*. ⑤ See also R 7 M. IV, 6 5 1; 11 C.

dieu le glorieux (one example):

Por dieu le glorieux, dist Guenelon, il n'a encor nuelle ute, Sept Sages, 27.

dieu le grand:

This formula has not been found outside of the chansons de geste, where it is one of the most frequently employed oaths of this class.

Herbergié, mot por dex (ax) le grant, Aiol, 3869. – *Merci, por dieu le grant*, R. Cambr. 7636. – etc.

dieu omnipotent:

This formula is by far the most frequent of this class of invocations in the chansons de geste (one occurrence to every 277 lines), although however found only in the

2°, tout fort de littérature[1].

Fils Mlles, que tenons, par dieu omnipotent, Orson, 3205.— Mais si nous (vous) en faict, par dieu omnipotent, demain ces feux-là sondes en sera ce feu-là advent, Katô R. 754.— etc.

dieu notre père (one example):

Vos dites vous, par dieu mon père, Fabl. III, 108.

dieu le père glorieux (one example):

Par dieu le père glorieux, Ce est un feu que vous traies, Ren. IV, 397.

dieu le puissant (rare):

Hé! Le roy dieu tresfort puissant! Qu'est-ce cela?, R. P. 7, VI, 208.②

① Fabl. I, 214.— ② See also: Li Mest. 2366.

(dieu) le (doux) (haut) (vrai) roi celestre, - glorieux, - hautisme, - tresmagnifique - souverain, - luxisimament, - de gloire; - de majesté and - du monde are formulas of invocation much favored by the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages. Examples outside of these Miracles are rare[1] In 90% of the examples dieu is omitted and le roi plus its qualificatif is a circumlocution. (dieu) le (doux) roi celestre is the only one of these forms that is employed frequently (with 7000 lines in the Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages,

dame, par dieu le roy celestre, Bien vous accompay pour hostage Mir. M. D.

[1] foi qu'il doy ent le roi de majesté, Gayd. 3296; foi que doi dieu le roy celestre, Fabl. VI, 91; En non dou haut Roi glorieux, Rutb. I, 15'9; de par le roi du mont, Rom. Pal. 214.

XXIII, 786.— E! dame, pour le roy celestre, Ma requeste ne vous ennuit, ib XXVII, 1475.— Par le doulx roy du firmament, dame, vrachiez tôlent m'ennuy, ib II 356.— Mès, foi que doi le roi celestre, Je le lairai, Fabl. XI, 91.①

[dieu]/le (notre) Seigneur (sporadic):

Par le Seigneur du ciel, qui tout fist et fourma, Si homme sommez tuit, Doon, 815.— Mais tout face cuens doit, pour nostre Seigneur, Sans enfaenir, uns poure secourir, Ch. 43.②

le dieu (vif) (one example):

Par le dieu vif, la chose est toute certaine, R. T. M. S-J. II, 15, 24.

① See also: Ren. Mé II, 556, 1093; ib X*, 30; ib XII, 7; ib XV, 1091; ib XXIII, 176, 938; etc. ② See also: Rec. de Farces, 00; Hist. littér. XIV, 24.

dieu te doint (one example):

Pontatices, ouen, par dieu te doint, Mir. MD. XXVII, 13'26.

dieu du ciel:

This oath occurs in the chansons de geste approximately once to every 9000 lines. It is not found elsewhere.

Cil, par dé del ciel, Cor. Dio. 1113.-

Por deu del ciel, sire, merci vos cri, Jourd. Bl. 3323. ①

dieu de majesté:

The oath is characteristic of the chansons de geste, where it occurs once to 9000 lines. One example is found in Aucassin et Nicolete. ②

Merci, frans cuens, por Deu de ma-

① See also: Jourd. Bl. 242; etc. ② 17, 15.

geoté, Con. Lo. 2231. — Par dieu de maisté! Chascun de nos s'en ira a son té, Li Nerb. Nis. E. 192 r. — etc.

dieu du monde (one example):

Mais, par la foi que devez dieu del mont, Por quoi haez Amile le baron?, Am. u. Am. 1202.

dieu de paradis:

The occurrence of this oath in the chansons de geste is in the proportion of one example to each 9 000. Lines. Outside of this genre its use is sporadic. ①

List Gaselins: par dieu de paradis Se Baudouins savoit ore ces dis Et ces noveles, tu seroies honnis, Aub.a 125, 18. — etc.

① Mich M.D. XXIII, 264; R. P. 7. IV, 7; Tobler etc. [illegible]

d. Ceci or a substitute followed by a relative clause.

The oaths of this class do not display the distinct ~~restr~~ temporal restriction of usage observed in the two preceding classes of oaths. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries show a greater preference for these oaths than the centuries following, but occurrences are not infrequent in the dramatic Miracles of the fourteenth century and in the popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth.[1] The occurrence in the chansons de geste is once in each 600 lines; in the Renart, once in 2550 lines; in the fabliaux, once in 4300 lines.

From the point of view of grammatical

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[1] See: R.F.F. IX, 106, 284; ib. XII, 318; Thfrç. ao. la Ken. 24, 28, 36, 64, 77, 365; R.Q. I, 193.

forms this class of oaths may be divided into four groups: (a). dieu + qualifier; (b). le, cel or cest dieu + qualifier; (c). ce, cel, icel, celui, etc. seignor + qualifier; (d). celui, icelui, etc + qualifier. The relative frequency of occurrence of these four forms is in the ratio 9, 9, 8, 6. ~~as the figures 4½, 4½, 4 and 3 respectively~~. Examples of the forms (c) and (d) are rare outside of the chansons de geste.[1] The chansons de geste show no preference for any one of the forms.

The emphasizing force of this form of oath is very strong. Even in ironical context its function is generally recognized.

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[1] Examples of form (c): Guill. Pal. 1189, 7126; Ren. XXIII, 106; Rutb. I 7; Min. MS. VI, 364. Examples of form (d): Men 1498; Ren XI, 1064, 1512; ib IX, 1306; Min. MS. XXXIV, 1686; Just. Resch. I, 273; Ch. fr. cité à Ren. 67.

The different forms are found in both asseverative and adjurative function but are poorly adapted to interjectional use and are not so found.

Mes je vos pri Que vos aiiez de moi merci Por cel dieu qui est fiz et pere, R Chan. 2835. - Car, par celui qui est chiex portés, Ne mengerai tant com tu seras vis, H Bord. 766. - Que par celi qui me fourma, Se vos mes convens me tenés, Renart si ert mal atornés, Ren. XI, 1064. - Par dieu qui me fist a s' ymage, Autrement point n'en portés, Fabl. VI, 65. - Mais par le dieu en cui je crois, Il te sera bien chier vendu, R. P. 7. XII, 318. - Mais par le dieu qui me fist maistre

Ke cuens n'aunoy pas si commun, R. P. 7. IX, 106.

If we classify these oaths on the basis of the character of the qualification in the modifying clause, we find eight groups: (a) God by name; (b) God the object of prayer, love, etc; (c) God the object of belief; (d) God the creator; (e) God the omnipotent; (f) God the truthful; (g) God the judge; and (h) God the saviour.

(a) God by name.

Found only in the Chansons de geste and Courtly Epic of the thirteenth century.

Mes pan celui qui suens a non, Vous n'estes pas vers moi cortoise, Mes. 1498.—

Que pan iciel signeur ki [illegible] est apelés Je vauroie mout, mieus

que finissiés desmembres, Fabl. 144.①

(b) God the object of prayer, etc.

Oaths of this group are found at all periods. They are more frequent in the chansons de geste than elsewhere.

Mes par celui en cui j'ai ma fiance, Et ne quier mes aporter descreance, Aliscans, 2. 9.— Par celui cui li peschieres prient de cuer parfondement Trop avez fet grant hardement, Fabl. IV, 76.— Par dieu que chascun dort amen, Ne forvoier ne puisse dorenavant, Th. fr. 5 ds. la Ren. 28.②

(c) God the object of belief.

Distinguished from the other groups of this classification by its absence from the chansons de geste. Proceeds almost-

① See also: Ch. Lyon. 1077; H. Bord. 706. ② Journ. Bl. 1025; Li Nerb. 5534; R. Cambr. 5460; Fabl. III, 234; Mir. Not. Dame, 1571; R. de Troie, 284.

ically in the Renart and Courtly Epic.

Que par cest dieu en cui je croi,
Je vos manrai devant le roi, Guil.
d'O, 1859. – Par dieu le pere en cui
je croi, Quant je le voi me quier au-
trui, Ren. V, 20. ①

(d) god the creator,

This is by far the most frequently used
form of this class of oaths, in-
cluding approximately one third of the total
number of examples. Occurrences are
found at all periods. In 30% of the
examples the relative clause has the
form qui me crea (fourma) or qui me fist
(maistre) ②. Other forms occurring more

① Guil. Pal. 7126; Ren. XI, 1512; A.P.F. XII, 318.

② Ren. XI, 1064; Guill. Pal. 389; H Cap. 681; Tobl.
III, 167; ib. I, 20; Mir. N.S. VI, 364; ib. II, 370; Tr.
fr. av. 14 Ren. 59, 99; A.P.F. IX, 106.

Itan ouec ane : par ce seignour qui fist ciel et rosée[1] and par dieu qui fist le monde[2].

Car, par celui qui le mont establi
Ti sil H. ne sont mie faucé, Rlamb. 1623. — Et auec, dist il, par deu qui fist le mont, Mal bel semblant faire ne doz boons, Chr. m. Ars. 1191. — Par dieu, qui fist mer et onde, C'est le plus beaus-praiaus du monde, Fabl. III, 83. — Vous n'en serez mie deslie, dame, par dieu qui fist la terre, Mir. ND. XXXIV, 1995. — Par le seignour qui me fist maistre, Cuë, vous aoez mout bien fait, ib. VI, 364.[3]

[1] Ogn. 1650; Foerd. Bl. 2544. [2] Chr. m. Ars. 119,; Fabl. III, 100, 228; Mir. ND. IX, 125. [3] See also: Rlamb. 2772; Gauf. 1055; Li Nerb. 476; Emil. Pal. 432; Fabl. VI, 65; Mir. ND. VI, 369; H. de. ac. la Rose, 3463.

(e) God the omnipotent.

In this group we may include a number of oaths, for the most part confined to the chansons de geste, which invoke God in the light of his material power.

Par celui qui tout sist et tout voit, R Camb. 3949. — Par celui qui fist creistre vesin, Gayd. 3592. — Par icelui Segnour qui tout a a bailie, Tier. 425. — Par cheli diu, ki fait corre les rues, A Cath. 614. — Par celui qui fet toner, Ren. IX, 1306. — Par dieu qui nous donne lumiere, Ph. 48; ao. la Ren. 24. etc.

(f) God the truthful.

The oaths of this group are found at all periods. In the chansons de geste they occur more frequently than any other group of this classification.

Ceste bataille me voil mantenir encui;

taite sera, par dieu qui ne ment, Am. u. Am. 1396.– Qui la mieura, par dieu qui ne ment, l'iclain reprocher ne sera dit de lui, Ki Mor. 4393.– Ne par cheli Seignour qui onc ques ne ment, ingues vers vilonie Seignour traïson ne basti, Doon, 765. ①

(g) God ille yiudge.

Par cel seigneur k'an cui sermes ju-gié, Je mi'en irai en mon pais a pié, Aub. 230, 8. ②

(h) God ille saroien.

Par celui dieu qui maint ame a sal-vee, Ki Mor. 463.– Par cel seignor qui'l mont kuet salver, Alisc. 3769. ③

① Secalso: Anc. 19,17; Fourd. 31.097; Ki Mor. 896; Arsen. 9,14; Lanfr. 5408; Ren. LI, 456; id. XVII, 5103; R. g. S. I 43; Tl. 4re ai. 4 Ren. 77. ② Secalso: Cust. Escl. I, 273; Tl. 4e ai. 4 Ren. 64. ③ Secalso, Doon, 873; Ki Mor. 6244.

2. Indirect Invocation of dieu through the medium of some attribute.

âme (name):

This name-form seems to be derived from par mon âme by the substitution of dieu for the person of the speaker with the aim of increasing the emphasis.

Par l'ame Dieu, vos avez tort, Fait la meschine, ce me semble, Fabl. VI, 143. ①

amour:

This attribute is invoked only in the adjurative formula pour l'amour de dieu. It occurs in common usage at all periods and in all forms of literature. Occurrences are more numerous

① See also: Chr. de Troyes, Perc. 2570 (Roch.).

ni religions than in profane literature.

Por amun dieu, car m'entendez, baron, Rol. 3765.– Por amor dieu qui tot a salvez, N'i alez mie, li Niche. 4328.– En plorant li requiert et prie Por amor dieu prenge li die de son fil qu'il li ait donné, Fabl. I, 166.– Sire, pour l'amour dieu te prie, Vostre mon requier assavoir, Mich. Mir. XXIII, 118.– N'espargnez la sueur de mon cors, pour l'amour de dieu, Rab. II, 353.– etc ①

foi (rare):

L'orement la vot mettre en son lit a bandon Quant si mevent li dient, Par la foi dieu, voz, non, Lyc. 1230.–

① For additional examples, see Tobler, pp. 24 and 25.

de Lange[1] gives an example of this oath in this form per Deum qdam in an ordinance of Robert of France (922-923). A second example is found in the sixteenth century,

Me te permetés-vous ? Oüy, foy de dieu ! — Doyne, Exercices, R. fr. MS. f. IV, 12, 11.

This example displays a confusion of dieu de droiture[2] with the form foi de dieu employed in imitation of the oaths foi de gentilhomme, foi d'homme de bien, etc.[3]

Dieu mercy (one example):

Prenez cet enfant En l'honneur du grand roy puissant, Mir. Mk. I, 405.

Merci:

Found in both asseveration and adjuration. The adjuration form pour l'amour de dieu is frequent in all genres of literature down to the sixteenth century,

Fig, fet elo, pour dieu merci, Coq

[1] See s. v. "Juramentum"; quoted from Hel. pairens. pp. of fr.

[2] See above, p. 83. [3] See below, pp. 300,

Tot est vouis con ge je di, H. de Bl. 1081. – Segnour, pour dieu merci, ne laissiés pas ceste ville, Gowi. 399. – Vienez vous ent, pour dieu merci, ey uly parler, Mir. M. D. VIII, 385. – etc. Asseverations by this attribute of God appear first in the fifteenth century, and are more frequent.

Mais, par la merey dieu, j'en fuis, Quant j'en auray bien attendu, Ung coup feray a l'adventure, R. P. 7. II, 247. – La merey dieu, j'eschappay et m'en vins, Chr. s. du XV^e S. 359. ①

, misericorde (one example):

Par le grand dieu, misericors Tu ne vaulx rien qu'a dire mal, R. 7. M. S. 7. II, 17, 11.

① See also: R. P. 7. XI, 355; 74. fr. de la Rem. 282.

Invocations of this attribute have been very frequent, especially in the period preceding the fifteenth century. There are numerous forms of invocation, most of them being however sporadic in their occurrence. The interjectional form and the use of par and pour to introduce the phrase of invocation is very varied.

Dieu, non Dieu! que li peray jeo : Min. Mél. XXXIII, 1444.- Par les mons Dieu, s'il mons eschape, Chascuns auna perdu sa chape, Fabl. I, 278 - Mon chier ami, pour le dieu mon, Pardonne-li, Min. Mél. XXXIII, 296. ①

The oath-forms involving God's name found in common usage are introduced with the prepositions en and à. The following forms have been found : a (par) mon dieu, en mon dieu (with its variant forms e mon

① See also : Min. Mél. XI, 64 ; ib. XXIII, [illegible] ; ib. XXIII [illegible]

dieu, an mom dieu and a mom dieu) and au mom de dieu. The full forms of invocation et (o, ou) mom de dieu[1] and au mom de dieu[2] are found sporadically in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The regular form of the oath en mom dieu, with its variant forms is confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but during this period its occurrence is very common. In the Chansons de geste it occurs approximately once in 1100 lines, being surpassed in

[1] Cor. Vie. 112°0; Tobl. I, 176; Mich. M.L. IV, 907; ib. VI, 825; ib. XXI, 220; Chans. du XV^e S., 47, 50; Mich. et Pey. IV, 256; ~~R.P.F. I, 10; Ch. fecond. ta K. n. 265~~; Rob. I, 168; ib. II, 344.

[2] R.P.F. I, 46; Ch. fec. ad. ta Ken. 30; Rob. I, 102.

number of occurrences by par dieu, pour dieu and par mon chief only; in the fabliaux, once in 2500 lines; in the Courtly Epic[1] with comparative frequency; in Lucassin et Nicolette[2], Joinville[3] and Robert de Clary[4], sporadically. No examples are found in the Romans. The lengthened forms el (o, ou), mon de dieu and au mon de dieu, to judge from my examples, occur only in adjurative function.

El mon de dieu - - - Ceste fame ne saisissiez, Fabl. I, 176. — A m'entendez, au mon de dieu, R. P. T. I, 40. — Accapaye, ou mon de dieu, Fab. II, 307. — Alons m'en, puis qu'il vous agrée, O mon de dieu, Mir. N. D. VI, 323. etc.

[1] Ch. Lyon, 1807; Guil. Pal. 295c, 7392; Escoufle, 3739, 7626. [2] 10, 78. [3] 48, 327. [4] 27.

En mon dieu and its variants are asseverative, and perform certain determinate syntactic functions. (En mon dieu) This never employed to qualify serious statements of fact or intellectual. The emphasis it gives to the statement qualified is so slight that its nature seems to be adverbial rather than asseverative. In 50% of the examples it qualifies the answer to a question or request expressed or implied. Its value in these seems to be that of an emphatic 'in truth', 'indeed', etc.

Combien as gent pour guere combatu? En mon dieu, dame, bien xxvm X. milliers, R. Cambr. 1037. — In reply to the offer of Marbonne as a fief: En mon dieu, sire, ... Vieg vui et feiles, Aym. Narb. 564. — Coment le fait Anseis notre rei? En mon dieu, fille, mout est gentis emperedor, A. Carth. 512. — Amis, dist il, en mon dieu, ... Amis, dist il, en mon dieu, ...

Et cil respont : A la cort, en nom dé, Cayd. 374.- Ba, comment, fist li rois, de ne sui jou sires et rois de Loiens? En nom dieu, fist li marchis, ne sires ne rois ne n'estes vous, R Clary, 27.- Sire, qne faites-vous? Que feiz-je donc? feiz-je. En nom dieu, fist il, vous mangiez chan au vendredi, Joinv. 327.- Marote, veus tu plus de mi? Oje, en nom dieu, Rob. et Mar. 680.- etc.

In appropriately 30% of its examples the oath, though not following an expressed or implied question or request, is intended in response to a preceding speech. It generally expresses either assent or dissent. Here again the translation "Yes indeed" or "No indeed", or simply "Hum!", is appropriate.

Dame, par tous les sains d'Orliens,

C'est une grue grant et bele. En nom dieu, fet la damoisele, Ele est mout grans et parcreue, Fabl. V, 152. - Che sont beles dames parees. En nom dieu, sire, ains sont beles fees, Th. frç. au m. a. 76.①

The function of the oath, as seen in the above two groups of examples, is asseverative. In a few examples, where en nom dieu emphasizes the answer to a question or the response to a speech, the verb is in the imperative. The function of the oath is still asseverative however,

S'il fuet son ventre enuidier & ne fust mie si mal mis. En nom dieu, fet Jourdes, ains s'achie qu'el en ne chie mie. Le roi et son espouse s'amie, Fabl. IV, 115.②

① See also: Fabl. I, 309; IV, 115; V, 152. ② Rambeau 567.

9n a number of examples en nom dieu is used by messengers, ambassadors etc. to introduce their speeches it also not infrequently follows the verb apeler being employed apparently as an exclamatory tail.

Au son q. l'est on alés noncier ledans Aras en son palais plaingnier. En non dieu, sire, on vait a l'anpereur, RCambr. 8569.— Un messagiere le vet au roi conter: En non dieu, sire, molt fetes a blasmer, Aym. Narb. 2268.— Herouin a apelé Kallemaine au vis fier: En non dieu, en pesers, bien me devée aidier, q Nant. 1224.— Au qu'il voit roi

Hugon, si t'an a apelé: En, mon deu, dit le traître, mon ostel, m'antandez, Rat. Ruch. 2945.①

In cases not covered by the above given grouping, approximately 80% of the examples, en mon dieu is employed as often unemphatic oaths.

Soient se plaint e dist a li: En, non dieu, bele, mar vos vi, Guil. Pal. 2950.— Auberi saints [illegible] non. Garselin says: En mon dieu, sire, on va de mal en pis, Aub. 18— M. ete.

puissance (rare):

par la puissance dieu, se vous ne le menez a la justice, je vous feray tous pendre, Sept Sages, 20.—

① See also: Am. u. Am. 124, 157 [illegible]; R Camb. 396 S. Alex. 63.—

A nom la poissance haultaine Re-
querons tous baptesme avoir, Mir. M.D. XX, 1436.

vertu:

Before the fifteenth century only sporadic occurrences are found.

Foi que doi Dieu et sa vertu, R Chart. 2018, - par dieu et par sa vertu, Ren. XVI, 786. - pour la vertu divine, Mir. M.D. XVIII, 1201.

The form (par)(la) vertu dieu, with numerous euphemistic variants, appears first at the end of the fifteenth century. It is found repeatedly in the drama and poetry of the first half of the sixteenth century and is especially frequent in Rabelais.

The full asseverative form - par la vertu

dieu (par les vertus dieu etc.) is not frequent outside of Rabelais[1]. Rabelais generally employs the form without euphemism[2]. Euphemism in the full asseverative occurs through substitution in

Par la vertus, dirent ilz, non-pas d'un petit poisson, mes grans, Rab. I, 126.- Par la vertus (dist frere Jan) du sang, de la chair, du ventre, de la teste, ib. II, 341;

through omission of dieu in

par la vertu mon dernay, R.T.M.S-J. II, 8, 18.- Sy Jesus vous par la vertu, ib. II, 4, 40.

Yet we should contrast par la vertu bieu(=dieu)

[1] R.T.M.S-J. II, 129, 336; R.T.M.S-J. II, 8, 18; ib. II, 4, 40; [2] I, 333; II, 88, 111, 318, 325, 341, 510; III, 220-30.

with the preposition omitted is rare.

La vertu bieu, je meurs de duel, R.P.F. XIII, 34.[1]

The interjectional form vertu dieu etc, with neither preposition nor article, is the most common form of invocation of la vertu both in Rabelais and in the drama and poetry from 1500 to 1550.[2] In Rabelais the form vertu dieu is usual, but his work furnishes sporadic examples of a number of strengthened and euphemistic forms, as: digne vertu, le dieu[3], ~~digne vertus~~[4], vertusquoy[5], vertus beuf de boys[6], vertus d'un petit poisson[7] and vertus d'aultre que d'un petit poisson.[8] In the drama and poetry vertu bieu is the usual form;

[1] See also: R.P.F. VI, 205. [2] R.P.F. XII, 232; Rec. de Farces, 146; R.F.M.S-J. I, 21, 15; ib. II, [illegible] Rab. I, 104, 147; II, 298, 306; etc. [3] II, 141. [4] ——. [4] II, 347, 352; ~~III, 142~~. [5] II, 102. [6] II, 387. [7] II, 107.

vertu goy[1] and vertu![2] occur sporadically. Vertus de Jehenon[3] and vertus de Styx[4] are two oaths found in utterances of Jupiter in Rabelais, which represent imitations in parody of vertu de dieu; note also vertu tron bief[5].

Invocations of the virtue of God, as employed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are emphatic frivolous oaths. Their occurrence characterizes the literature of a popular and [illegible] tongue nature.

Elle est, désenia l'amurge, par la vertu dieu, rumpue, ou feslee que ie ne mente, Rab. III [illegible]. — Ie croy, par la vertus dieu qu'il est Hae etigne, ib. II, 10. — Et par la vertu mon feray, R.T.M.S-J. II, 3, 18. — Vertus dieu, nay eu du [illegible]

[1] R.T.M.S-J. III, 3, 10; A.T. fre. I, 130. [2] R.T.M.S-J. III, 1, 7; T.L. fre. no. la Rev. 279. [3] Rab. II, 63. [4] Rab. II, 245; III, 1[illegible]
[5] R.T.M.S-J. III, 114.

temps pour plus de cinquante mille francs, Rab. II, 247. — Vertu, si quelqu'un se rebelle, j'y mettrai pas pour le mieux, R. T. M. S-J. III, 14, 7, etc.

2. God the Son.[1]

a. The name of Christ.

The name of Christ is relatively uncommon in oaths. It is sporadically invoked in various oath forms, but is found in no fixed formula of frequent occurrence. Almost all of my examples of these oaths are from the chansons de geste and the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages. I have noted only the following occurrences outside of these two genres.

Par Jhesu Crist, le filz Marie, Ren. IV, 138.—
par Jhesu Crist, T. abl. II, 20.—
par Jhesu-Crist, Th. ft. au. ma., 33.—
foy que doy au roi Jesu, ib. 127.—
pour l'amour de Jesus Christ,
R. T. M. S-J. IV, 8, 27.[2]

[1] See above, p. 57. [2] From Saint Gris. see below, p. 30

In the chansons de geste and dramatic miracles the following forms of invocation were found: par Jésus;[1] par Jésus le père espérituble;[2] foi que je dois (à) Jésus;[3] par le roi Jésus;[4] par le roi Jésus;[5] pour le doux roi Jésus;[6] pour le corps de Jésus;[7] au nom de Jésus;[8] par Jésus Christ;[9] pour Jésus Christ;[10] par très doux Jésus Christ;[11] par le corps de Jésus Christ;[12] par la foi de Jésus Christ;[13] par saint Christ;[14] par la foi que je dois Jésus Christ.[15]

The occurrence of these oath in the chansons de geste and the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages proves it to be a solemn religious form of attestation. This social and

[1] a Carth. 473. [2] Am. m. am. 654. [3] Aym. Narb. 2331; 3 Sebourg, I, 93, 94, 108 (X.); 3 Boulogne, [illegible] (X.). [4] Mir. Not. VII, 502. [5] Ti Narb. [illegible]. [6] Mir. Not. VI, 459. [7] Cambr. 4638. [8] Mir. Not. XXII, 237. [9] Bord. 6430; 3 Sebourg, I, 204 (X.); Mir. Not. VIII, 545. [10] 3 Boulogne, 2434 (X.). [11] Mir. Not. V, 241. [12] Mir. Not. XVI, 710. [13] 3 Sebourg, I, 179 (X.). [14] Bord. [illegible]. [15] Bord. 1045.

of the speakers employing these oaths we further to indicate this. In the dramatic Miracles one example[1] is in the utterance of an esquire, one[2] in that of a knight, the rest are spoken by members of the clergy. In the chansons de geste members of the royal class show some liking for this form of oath.[3] The example par Jhesu Crist (HBord. 6930) occurs in the case of a Saracen princess recently converted to Christianity and is evidently employed by her as an indication of her change of religious faith.

As befits an oath of this serious nature, it is used to emphasize solemn statements of intention and fact.

[1] VII 566. [2] IL 1741. [3] Am.m.Am. 654 (a princess); & Aym. Narb. 2331 (King Boniface; HBord 1427 Charlemagne).

Car par Jesu le vensi ereter, dius me feinoie ochirre a desonor ke cose facha dont vous aies inon, A Carth. 473. - Seignor, dist il, m'ensoriez inascu, Mel fis por mal, foi que doi a Jesu, Dym. Mar. 2331. - Par Jhesu Crist, qui [illegible] eul aorier, Je garderai Hmon ma loiauté, H Bord. 6930. - Monseigneur, par le roi Jhesu, Sachiez s'en vostre point estoie Qu'a ceste fois encore ygnoie Ecc gaitier, Mir. Nd. VII, 360.

b. An expression designating Christ qualifies deu or a substitute or stands as a circumlocution for deu.

1. The expression is an adjective phrase.

le fil (sainte) Marie:

found once in 7000 lines in the chansons de geste and sporadically elsewhere.

Se gel disoie, par dieu le fil Marie,
Plus qu'a un homme ma foi seroit mentie, R Cambr. 4301. — Mon, dame, par le fil Marie Fabl. I, 129.[1]

son (= dieu) fil (one example):

Qui li dist: Rois, va an ecsil! De par Deu et de par son fil Le te di ge, Guil. d'A. 83.

le rédempteur[2]:

Confined to the chansons de geste where it occurs approximately once in 7000 lines.

dist Savaris: Par Deu le rademant [illegible]

[1] See also: Jourd. Bl. 287, 305, 3270; Alexiu 63, 5; Prise de Cordres 929; Escoufle, 924; Auc. 5, 23; [illegible]

[2] Cf. Fr. Roy amant [illegible]

sous voz noenna devant, Gayd. 4526.①

le (saint) sauveur:

found in scattered occurrences in all periods.

Par dieu le sauveor, Vos dites bien, Aym. Mich. 1288.- Onques mes, par le sauveor, ♯ Ne vi si fol ne si musart, Fabl. II, 262.- Il est vray, par sainct Sauveur!, R.F.M.S.-J. III, 11, 1.②

mon seigneur de saint Jerusalem (one example):

Par mon segnor seint Jursalem, Ne fot itel trovés oan, Ren. Ib, 2449.

① See also: HCaf. 4266; Orson, 3207; Aub.a 23, 18; etc.

② Li Nerb 35; Fabl. I, 252; Mir. Nd. III, 57; 8; 1; de Farces, etc.

2. The expression is a relative clause.

These oath-forms are more or less characteristic of the chansons de geste, though occasional examples occur in the Renart[1], Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages[2] and later[3]. The form of the relative clause varies greatly. Generally reference is made to the birth or passion of Christ, but no fixed formula is found. I mention the following representative forms[4]: par le saint sauveor qui tout a a juger[5]; par celui c'on apele Jesu[6]; par celui qui ens la croix fu mis[7]; par celui qui de vierge nasqui[8]; par uchel

[1] Ren. IV, 460. [2] Mir. N.D. II, 1083; XXII, 786. [3] Eust. Desch. I, 272, 274; R.P.T. III, 226. [4] See also: Tolle, pp. 34-35. [5] Doon [illegible]. [6] Flamb. 3324, 4388. [7] Bond. 693; 1453, 1757. [8] Aym. Narb. 598.

seignieur qui de vierge fu nés[1]; par ici-
chel seignor qui pardon fist Longis[2];
par dieu qui fist par lui t'image[3]; par
celui qui espandi son sanc[4]; etc.

C. Indirect Invocation through the
medium of some attribute.

The oaths of this class comprise a num-
ber of the violent forms of invocation; their
use is largely restricted to frivolous con-
texts. Their occurrence is rare outside of
works of the most popular and even
vulgar nature such as the Renart,
the fabliaux, the farces and Rabe-
lais. When they are employed in
polite literature it is usually with
the evident purpose of indicating that the

[1] Koon, 6163. [2] R Cambr. 4246. [3] R. Cambr. 3174,
[4] Ganf. 2623. [5] H Sard. (c.)

speaker is of the lower classes or that he speaks in extreme anger[1]. The objects of invocation, with the exception of mort dieu, physical and often of a vulgar nature. The strength of asseveration or adjuration in the case of these oaths consequently is not derived from the solemnity or sanctity of the aspect of god invoked but from the sacrilegious daring of the invocation.

As regards the origin of these oaths, it seems probable that le corps was the first attribute to be invoked[1]. The

[1] My examples do not prove this priority of le corps over other attributes. In the twelfth century only le corps, le coeur and la chair occur in oaths, and although le corps appears in the earliest example (Guil. d'A. 3242), in texts from the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries le coeur is much more frequently used. Cp. p. 129 f.

conception of the body of god was continually presented to the people's mind by the Catholic mass. The oath originally invoked the Holy Sacrament in a serious manner. I have noted a few examples of serious invocation of le corps, and have found none for any other attribute.

Que, par cele corone dont m'aés gueroné
Qu'en mon chief m'aés mis trestot outre mon
gré, Ne par la foi que doi au cors meisme dé,
Je ne tandrai an France ne chastel ne cité, Y
Roung. 248.— A bishop is speaking to
nuns: Par le corps de nostre seigneur
Je say bien que q'y sui tenuz, Mir. N.D.
II, 632.—

The fact that corps plus a proper name or appellative is employed to indicate merely the identity of a person may have made easier the development of the form corps dieu en ...

The occurrences of invocations

of Christ in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the chansons de geste, courtly Epic and religious literature are very few. Except for the above quoted examples of le corps in serious invocation, they are found only in the utterances of the lower classes. The passage Dame, par le cors dé, Ja ces robes ne prenons prandre (Guil. d'a. 3242) is spoken by two merchants whose low character is being contrasted with the noble characters of the poem. The use of par le cors has been by the vadasour critic (Gayd. 2402, 2404) is in line with such other characteristics as this fighting on foot with an axe and not about armour. Similar is the example in the words of Raimbaut (Alisc 1476).

Gautier de Coincy uses different forms of the oath in different stanzas of his lower characters as an indication of their wickedness, Compare:

Foie et poumon, boeus et pieus,
Et grenon'en la bouche li cheut,
Jure-por ce qu'il li mes cheut (speaking of a gamester), Gloire, 359.— The devil claims as his own an individual Qui les angoisses et les plaies, Qui langue et gueule, neuz et crocèle, Rate, poumon, visier, boële, Jurent de fieu à chaque mot, ib. 620.[1]

The Miracles de Notre-Dame personages are not so outspoken in their condemnation of this form of swearing.

[1] See also: 159-160 (gamblers); 249 (crowds, bourgeois); 153 (villain); 619 (axibans); 171 (a [illegible]).

nor is the class distinction in usage so clearly marked. In addition to the example noted above (p.) I have noted the following occurrences.

The brother of a murdered man speaking to the murderess upon seeing that the fire does not touch her: Par le sanc et par la corelle! Murdrerre ainsi m'enmenez pas, Mir. Mé. XXV, 1110. — par le corps dieu (a sergant), ib VIII, 248. — again (a servant), XXXV, 1175. — par les dens Dé (bailiff), XXVI, 618.

It is in the Renart and fabliaux that the oath involving an attribute of Christ first shows itself in force. In the Renart its occurrence is once in 1290 lines, in the fabliaux, once in 1150 lines. In both forms of literature le cors is the object of invoca-

tion in about two thirds of all examples. The fabliaux show a liking for invocations of le cul, which occurs in one fourth of all examples from that text; other attributes appear sporadically, such as la mort[1], les yeux[2], la tête[3]. Adam de la Halle furnishes two examples of par le cul dieu, one of par la mort dieu and four of par le sen dieu[4]; Jourdain shows two examples of oaths by le chief dieu[5]. In the popular drama and poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth century this form of oath is exceedingly frequent (once in 330 lines); le sang (once in 750), la mort (once in 1460) and le corps (once in 1200) are the preferred objects of invocation.

[1] Fabl. IX, 51; ib. V, 171, 174. [2] Fabl. IV, [illegible]; ib. V, 127; Rom. X, 535. [3] Fabl. II, 163; ib. IV, 123; ib. V, [illegible]. [4] Fabl. au m. a. 62, [illegible]; Rob. et Mar. 116, 584, 595; [illegible]

Le coeur, le cul, les yeux, la tête, which were invoked in the Renaut and the fabliaux appear no longer in oaths. In Rabelais examples are numerous, especially in utterances of Panurge and Frian Jehan; le corps is much the most frequently invoked attribute.

la bouelle:

Never invoked independently with this expressed. All examples show it associated with one or more other attributes. Gautier de Coincy (p. 620) lists it among the oaths employed by a criminal and again (pp. 159-160) in a similar list for a gambler.

Par le sanc et par la boielle! Murdrière, aissi n'en iras pas, Mir.M.D. 1112.[1]

[1] See also: Rem. XXIII, 1963; Fab. II, 73; ib. VI, 3; Clerus, 249.

la cenelle (n. sing.):

Il est mors, fait le mire. - Nouvel. -
Par la cenele dieu, si est, Ren. XIV, 609.
Mentioned by Gautier de Coincy (p. 620).
Notice the combination of two oaths in
par la ~~x~~ cenele boucle. (Tabl. VI, 5) =
par la cenelle (dieu) + par la boucle
(dieu).

la chaire:

The earliest example of this invocation of this attribute is from the Vau d'Ignaures[1]. It occurs once in the Tobler[2] and in the Komanderie Rol[3]. Du Cange[4] mentions several examples from Litterae remissae of the fourteenth century. The oath does not become frequent till the fifteenth century.

[1] Bartsch und Horning, col. 55 [illegible]. [2] IV, 11. [3] II, 127. [4] s. v. "Juramentum".

Its occurrence is approximately once in 3000 lines for the farces. It is also frequent in the burlesque poetry, such as the boasting monologue of the Franc-archier de Cluré.[1] Only one example is found in Rabelais[2]

The invocation generally takes the forms par la chair bieu, la chair bieu or chair bieu. The euphemistic form dieuxne occurs once[3]; euphemistic omission of dieu occurs once[4]

This invocation, as all invocations of attributes of Christ is restricted to frivolous context and is very emphatic.

Par la chair bieu ne par saint Lucine,
Ce ne fut pas fait de bon cueur benin.

[1] N.F.F., XIII, 43-44. [2] Rab. II, 175. [3] R.F.M.S.F. III, 13, 20. [4] Rab. II, 175.

Cotgr. 20. 2. Nau. 110.— Par la chair bieu, j'(en) ay faict vaige, R. P. 7. XIII, 24.— Et par la chair bieu mon fenay, R. 7. M. S. J. I, 21, 9.— La chair bieu, vous aures des coups, Th. Cr. 20. to Ra. 125.— La chair bieu, bien prendray l'usance de ce flater soir et matin, ib. 177.— Comment, chair bieu, mort bieu, truans, Tis je, qui vous a mys icci, R. P. 7. XIII, 37.

le chief (rare):

Joinville[1] places the oath in the mouth of Count Pierre de Bretagne. In Rabelais[2] and later[3] it is employed in forms as cap de Gascogne, cap de bious to characterize the speech of people of Gascony and Provence and it was perhaps only

[1] 237. [2] II, 201, 203. [3] See Fables, f. 37.

in these dialects that the oath was ever in common use.

le corps :

9 invocations of this attribute are in some ways the most important of this class of oaths. They appear early[1] and they continue in use till the end of the period under examination. They are employed not only in popular literature frivolously but are also found in polite literature in serious function.[2] No occurrences are found in the Renart, the fabliaux or the drama of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the fifteenth and sixteenth, the drama, especially the farce, fre-

[1] See: Guiot d'A. 3242; Octavian, afg. Bibl. III, (1883), 1212, 3075 (Rolle, 28); Rom. I, 241, 254. [2] See above, p. 125; also: Mich. et Roy: IV, 356; Cleom. du XV^e S. 15; N.P.F. III, 181; Cent. I, 25, 28.

rish a great many examples (for all forms of drama, once in 1200 lines, for farces, once in 710). Rabelais uses le corps in oath much more frequently than any other attribute of Christ. (Par le) corps) dieu, notion of corpus mysticum, is rare[1] for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries except in Rabelais, where it is the usual form of invocation[2]. In the drama and poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the forms are usually par le corps) dieu, le corps) dieu and corps) dieu.

Par le corps bieu! a dire voir, Vous y avez très-bien ouvré, Nouv. fr. du Jen. 104.- Par le corps bieu, rien n'en sera, Et mentirez, puis que j'en jure, Rec. de farces, 14.- Le corps bieu, je ne feray rien, ib. 9.- Corbieu, ie

[1] Chans. du XVe S. 15; Mich. et Roy. II, 78. [2] Rab. I, 105, 147, 126; III, 53, 39, 60, 1[illegible]. Bieu in I, 125; II, III.

vous ay trop nourry, R. 7 MS. f. II, 9, 16. — Corbieu, ci y'aura ris mangiroot, Je croy que je me en iroys pendre, Rue de Tanneurs, 148. Ex.

Rabelais furnishes numerous examples of the euphemistic substitution of bœuf[1] and corps de galine[2] and the dialect form pe le grand dé[3]

le coeur

Invocations of le coeur are confined to the twelfth thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Within this period they are especially frequent in the Renart (once in 1750 lines) and the fabliaux (once in 2000). Occasional examples are found in the chansons de geste[4] and Gautier de Coincy[5] and Quessin et Macaire[6]

[1] II, 147. [2] II, 147. [3] III, 175. [4] Alisc. 7474; gayd. 2404, 2409. [5] 135, 159-160 171, 535, 619. [6] 22, 14; 24, 4; 31, 7.

The latest example of the oath is in Villon.[1]

Os por le cuer be ! fait il. Por quoi cauteroigje por vos, s'il ne me soit. Luc, 22, 14. — Leaus, aïe pensement, 9 Cenne., 171. — Par le cuer be, s'il nos estoit, Vos estez tuit pendu et mort, Ren. I, 1547. — Par le cuer dieu, n'i demourra, Tabl. VI, 43. — Ja n'i aura confession, Par le cuer dieu se de moi non, Tabl. I, 179.

In these invocations the euphemistic forms bieu and be are usual, the former being preferred in the fabliaux (eight out of fifteen examples), the latter in the Renart (fourteen out of seventeen). The strengthened form saint cuer[2] is found once. Bieu[3] and bu[4] also occur.

[1] Ibid. 44. [2] Tabl. I, 20. [3] Jubinal 2404, 2409; Tabl. V, 48. [4] Tabl. I, 20.

Euphemistic omission of dieu occurs on occasional instances.[1]

The disappearance of cuer dieu in the fifteenth century may be in a measure due to phonetic confusion with the coup(s) d'œil, as this latter (battle-form) begins to be frequent at this time.[2]

le cul:

Not found outside of the fabliaux and drama of the thirteenth century. In the fabliaux its occurrence is about once in 5000 lines. The examples generally show dieu without euphemism; bieu appears twice.[3] Both examples seem to show a local restriction of the oath to Picardy and the northeast.

[1] Ren. I, 722, 726; Chans. [illegible] 44. [illegible] [3]

Fabl. I, 243, 273.

Par le cul dieu, fet il, c'est droiz, Fabl. III, 63. – Ditez moi, qui vous a meffet, Par le cul dieu, fet Estormis, Fabl. I, 290. – Pour le c. Dieu! estes vous ici? Mir. a. Nm. a. 62. – Par le cul dieu, je vieng de soutre, Fabl. I, 243.[1]

les deulx (infrequent):

Mais vous ne m'en eschapperez point, Ne vous, ne vous, par les deus Dé, Mir. NS. XXVI, 618. – Les deus dieu, c'est ung apostat, R. 9. S. II, 189.[2]

la sainte face, – figure (rare):

Mentioned by Eustache Deschamps.[3]

[1] See also: Fabl. I, 215; 273; ibid., 96; Mir. fr. au m. a. 100.

[2] See also: R. 9. S. II, 155; R. 7. M. S. S. IV, 11, 8.

[3] I, 171.

Du Cange[1] quotes the oath par la sainte figure de Dieu from Lit. remiss. ann. 1404. in Reg. 159. ch. 112.

le foic (very rare)

Voiz, pour le sanc et pour le foie, Fabl. III, 196.

Mentioned by Gautier de Coincy[2] among the oaths employed by a gambler.

la fonelle (= pertuis)

Quoted by Du Cange[3] from Lit. remiss. ann. 1389. in Reg. 133, ch. 286. Also, mentioned by Duchamps.[4]

la [illegible] one example):

Pour la froissure et pour la teste, Fabl. III, 196.

1) See s.v. "Sanctuarium" 2) I, 7 3) s.v. "Juramentum" 4) I, 274.

la gargate (one example):

Por la gueule, por la gargate, 4 ou
diz soller, d'une cavate Si fautes
one si grant feste, gComs. 155-

la gorge (one example):

Par la gorge et par les dens, K. 7. 1111.
S-J. IV, 14, 118.

la gueule (very rare):

Vois, fait il, pour la gueule diu,
Sui bien hors a ci loin qui, Fabl.
V, 175.①

les yeux (rare):

Par les eux be --- Creust Ysengrins trop
coutois, Rou. X, 1553. - Par les eus diu,
fait il, tu gambles, Fabl. V, 127.②

① Scarbo; gComs. ② Also: Fabl IX, 161; gComs. 20; Eust Deschamps

la méniaine (one uyam-ple.):

Et dit Renart: par la membrance,
Par tes plaiz, par la mort Dieu, Ne sai
ore mie, Ren. XII, 5'00.

la mort:

Only sporadic occurrences of this oath
are found before the fifteenth century.

s'a le mort Dieu jurez, Gayd. 45'94.—
Par le mort Dieu, je muir de faim,
Th. frç. au m. a. 90.— Renart, dist No-
bles, par la mort, Bien fez tes aferes
sanz nous, Ren. XVI, 75'6.©

during the fifteenth and sixteenth
centuries the oath becomes very frequent.
In the drama of these centuries its occurrence

©Sic alias: Ren. XII, 501; Fabl. IV, 51; vd. V,
174.

is once in 1460 lines; in the farces specifically, once in 800 lines. It occurs frequently in poetry of a very vulgar nature, especially the monologues of boasters.[1] Rabelais furnishes several examples.[2]

Before the fifteenth century the forms mort dieu,[3] without euphemism, mort bœu[4] and mort,[5] with dieu omitted, are found. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries mort bieu is usual in the three forms of invocation par la mort(t) bieu, la mort(t) bieu and mort(t) bieu. Rabelais uses mort bœuf in all but two examples,[6] where mort bieu and mort dieu

[1] R.P.F. X, 241; ib XIII, 23, 28, 35, 37, 43; Villon (Poés. attrib.). [2] Rab. I, 155; II, 174, 305, 306, 317, [illegible], 436, 524; III, 130. [3] Chr. de Troyes, m.a. 90; Fabl. V, 174. [4] Gayd. 45:94; Fabl. IV, 57; Rom. XII, 501. [5] Rom. XVI, [illegible]. [6] Rab. I, 155; II, 317.

are found. Par la mort, without dieu, appears occasionally. Rabelais substitutes as a euphemism the strength form mort [illegible]

la poitron (very rare; pis (one example):

Par la poitron dieu sanglant, quoted by DuCange[3] from Litterae Remissae of the fourteenth century. Par le dieu pis, Mir. N.-D. XXXIII, 345.[4]

la natte (very rare):

Par la natte dieu, Rab. I, 75.

le nombre (= figure):

Several [illegible] are found in Rabelais;[5] very rare elsewhere.[6] The use of the oath in Rabelais in such forms as par le saint nombre gorge etc. probably indicates a confusion with oaths by le sang[7]

[illegible] R. 7. M. S. J. II, 41 8; ib. III, 3. 4; A. H. 45. I, 35; ib. II, 256. [2] Rab. [illegible]
[3] S. v. "Juramentum." [4] Abo. Mir. N.-D. XI, 186. See Jöcklein, 29. [5] II, 39, 43, 179, 323. [6] Jöcklein, 32. [7] See p. 174.

le sang:

Occasional occurrences are found before the fifteenth century.

Voiz, pour le sane et pour le foie, Fabl. III, 196. - Par le sane et par la boelle, Mir. NS. XXVI, 1110.

Deschamps[1], mentions the following oaths: par le sang que dieux estanna, par le sang que dieux degouta[2], par le sang dont pierre fendi, and (Jurer) le sang que dieux spretta. In the popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries le sang is the most frequently invoked attribute of Christ; in the drama (all forms together) its occurrence is approximately once in 750 lines, in the farces specifically, once in 550 lines. No occurrence [illegible]

[1] Vol. I, 271 fg. [2] See also: [illegible]

mis-sorte forms of invocation.

The forms of invocation are numerous. Sang dieu, without euphemism is infrequent.[1] Par le sang bieu, besang bieu and sang bieu are the usual forms. Euphemism by omission of dieu occurs sporadically;[2] goy for dieu is rare.[3] Strengthening both the adjective saint is comparatively frequent in the form saint sang bieu.[4] A confusion appears in sang bieu de moy[5] = sang bieu + sang de moy[6] and saint sang que dieu me fist[7] = saint sang (dieu) + sang que dieu me fist. Sang de les Cabres[8] may be regarded as an euphemistic substitution.

[1] Mich. et Pey. IV, 650; Th. et E. au. la Rem. 99. [2] Th. et E. au. la Rem. 179; Sab. II, 175. [3] I. Tarb. et E., I, 247. [4] P. 7, M.S. S. I. II, 2, 11; ib. II, 4, 25; Th. et E. au. la Rem. 103, 109, 127, 151, 159, 165. [5] Th. et E. au. la Rem. 143. [6] See below p. 278. [7] Th. et E. au. la Rem. 109, 127. [8] I, 25.

Le sain (very rare):

Par le sain dieu, c'est bien amé, Rob. et Marg. 375.[1]

la tête:

Very rare until the fabliaux. From the end of the sixteenth century on it is frequent.[2]

Vois, par la tieste dieu, Fabl. II, 105; – *Par la teste dieu, vous l'avez*, Chrest. ad. la Chan. 105. – *Par la vertus... de la teste*, Rab. II, 341.[3]

le ventre:

Very rare before the fifteenth century.[4] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find several occurrences of the oath, in most of which the form is *ventre bieu*.[5]

[1] See also: ib. 116, 584. [2] See Tobler, v. d. *Tête dieu* etc. [3] See also: Fabl. II, 17; ib. IV, 23; ib. I, 72; Eust. Deschamps I, 274; Rab. II, 343. [4] Fabl. II, 73; Eust. Deschamps I, 273. [5] R. de Mons-J. II, 15, 20; ib. III, 12, 15; R. de Rou VI, 203; ib. XIII, 40; Chr. (Poes. attrib.), 157; [illegible]

Ventre dieu![1] ventre yuoy![2] and (par le) ventre
beuf (de boys)[3] occur in Rabelais. Ventre de
lion![4] is cited by Palsgrave in his dialogs with the
Limousin dialect. Par le ventre bren appears
once[5]. Note finally Pentre ou Ventre[6]

[1] Rab. I, 105. [2] II, 62. [3] I, 110, 174. [4] Pal. [illegible] 191.
[illegible] [5] Rab. [illegible]

3. The Virgin Mary.

Oaths invoking the Virgin Mary do not appear in common usage before the middle of the thirteenth century. From that time they continue in usage till the end of the period under examination. Beginning in the second century, worship of the Virgin had developed to its height in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The miracles of the second third of the thirteenth century and later are the first expression in the vernacular of this excessive worship of the Virgin. Invocations of the Virgin in oaths do not occur with frequency before these miracles[1] and their employment in later literature was probably established largely through the influence of this religious literature.

[1] Escoufle, 5376; Ren. I, 175; ib. I 6, 3140; ib. XII, 1178; Rambs. 1709, 3490, 6145; Cor. Lo. 1535; Li Mets 286; Aiol, 10861; Elie de St G. 1457; Fabl. I, 21; ib. II, 22.

The Virgin's name does not appear in sacrilegious oaths invoking physical attributes except in rare instances in the most profane literature.[1] In this connection we might call attention to the curious miracle of the two gamblers in Gautier de Coincy (pp. 159-160), one of whom swears continually the most violent oaths by God but fears to swear by the Virgin, for, as he says:

Se conssonceoie Nostre Kame, Qui me
fesoit mes pes a Dieu?

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find not infrequently oath-forms in which the name of the Virgin (generally by the appellation Notre-Dame or Mère-de-Dieu) is qualified by phrases of geographical localization such as de

[1] Ren XII, 1178; Fabl. I, 21, 214; id. III, 240; Th. Inc. ad. La Ren. 100, 110.

Boulogne,[1] de Montfort,[2] d'Orléans,[3] de Pontoise[4] and de Rivière[5]. In these cases the invocation does not seem to be directed personally to the Virgin, but indirectly through the medium of some material object, church or statue, bearing her name and patronage.

The invocations of Virgin are based on the following appellations: (a) couronnée; (b) dame; (c) mère de dieu; (d) reine; (e) sainte Marie; and (f) vierge.

(a) couronnée (one example):

Ie ne m'a pour rien gabé, qu'en vient
Ina au pied leué, Par la Benoiste couronnée, Th. frç. ad. La Ren. 104.

[1] Mich. Mk. VI, 547; ib VII, 258; ib XI, 44; ib XII, 258; Rec. de Farces, 10; Th. frç. ad. La Ren. 127. [2] R.T.M.S. J. II, 15, 14; ib III, 16, 7; ib IV, 1, 30. [3] R.T.M.S. J. III, 12, 18. [4] Mich. M.S. XXVI, 4 [illegible] [5] Rab. II, 3 [illegible]

6. dame.

belle dame:

Occurring only in Gautier de Coincy.

Foi que je doi la bele dame, Jame si est de tiés effors cume la plus feble est asses fors, Coinc. 643.[1]

la dame (name):

Mais par la dame de Boulogne, Jamais bien aise ne seray, Mir. MDVII, 547. — Et par la dame que l'en reclame, Tu rendras ele, Mir. w. la Ken. 104.[2]

ma dame (name):

Mes cuers si font s'en esmerveille Par ma dame Sainte Marie, Dis m'ont ce sont [illegible], Coinc. 609. — Sire, par le peril de m'ame, Ne fe[illegible] la foi que doi

[1] See ib. 554, 605. [2] Also Mir. MDVII, 3[illegible]

ma dame... 4t valoit trois .L. solz,
Fabl. II, 117.

Notre dame:

Except in religious literature[1] the Virgin Mary is rarely invoked in oaths by this appelation before the fifteenth century. The miracles of the fourteenth century probably did much to establish the use of the oath. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath occurs frequently in popular and polite literature; in the drama one example to 1575 times is found; in the Chansons and rondeaux it stands next to foi and sur ma foi in frequency of occurrence.[2]

[1] Fabl. I, 99; ib. III, 114; Rutebe. II, 103; Rom. 35, 002, 017, 637; Mir Mk. II, 170; ib. XX, 1224; ib. XXXII, 021.

[2] Rom. XII, XIX, XXV, XXXI, XCVI, CLII; Chans. du XVeS. 99.

It occurs only one in Rabelais.[1]

The form of the invocation is generally (par) Nostre Dame or foi que Dieu Nostre Dame. Rose dis-je, par Nostre Dame Qui bien est fous, soit bons, soit sage, Qui etc., Coins, 55 f.— Et je lor dis, par Nostre Dame, Ke j'avoie trestot donet, Fabl. III, 114.— Esse point mung grant mal? Si est, par Nostre Dame, Chans. du XV^e S. 99.— A, Nostre Dame! qu'esse là?, Th. fre. ad. la Ren. 332.— Tu me faiz Essang esmouvoir, Foy que je doy a Nostre Dame, R. de Fl. III, 5-G. II, 15, 7.— Foi que je dois a Nostre Dame, Je antens la mung autre Coquin, R. G. S. I, 5°. etc.

The following unique forms have also been found:

par la vertu de Nostre Dame, G Coins. 69.—

[1] H, 324.

por l'amour de Nostre Dame, ib. 619. - par le sang Nostre Dame, Th. fre. ad. La Ren. 100 and 110. - par la benoiste Nostre Dame, R.F.M.S.-F. III, 16, 20. - de par Nostre Dame, Th. fre. ad. La Ren. 153.

Sainte dame:

Found sporadically in fifteenth and sixteenth century.

Sainte dame! comme il barbote, Th. fre. ad. La Ren. 103.[D]

mère de dieu:

Examples of this oath are very rare before the fourteenth century.[E] It is especially frequent in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages, where it takes the forms par la mère dieu

[D] Also ib. 92 and 94. [E] Rob. et Mar. 573.

debonnaire[1], par la mere dieu de Boulogne[2] and par la mere dieu de Pontoise[3]. during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries occasional examples are found, in the forms par la mere dieu precious[4], mere de dieu! and par la mere dieu de Montfort[6]. In Rabelais the euphemistic oath-forms (par la) mendé and mendiqués[7] are common.

Par la mere dieu, chou est drois, Rob. et Mar. 5:13. – Mere de Dieu! La comande. Par fyé, je m'en voul anar, Th. fr. av. la Ren. 101. – Par la mere dieu de Boulogne, Beaus oncles, ce n'est pas m'entente Mus. M. A. XI, 144. – Par la

[1] II, 606; IV, 201, 759, 843; X, 174; XVI 364. [2] XI, 144; XII, 258. [3] XXVI, 405. [4] Th. fr. av. la Ren. 91. [5] Th. fr. av. la Ren. 101 (Pathelin's swearings). [6] K. F. M.S. f. II, 15, 14. [7] I, 54, 78, 133; II, 264; IV, 17. See Godefroy 71–72 for further examples.

Mendé, c'est mon tuteur, Rab. I, 183. —
Mendiqués ceste cy estoyt mienne, Rab.
II, 264.

(3) Reine.

The invocation of the Virgin by this appelation is rare.

Marie, par la royne tonnoure, de
son lignage rien ne scay, Mis. Nd XXIX,
2395.0

(4) Sainte Marie.

Invocations of the Virgin by this appelation occur at all periods. Especially noteworthy is the relative frequency of this form of oath by the Virgin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the

Nolle cites par la reine glorieuse, Ch. Ly en 4506
Example could not be verified.

chansons de geste and the Renart.[1] In the fabliaux the oath is fairly frequent (once in 2300 lines). It is a favorite oath of Rutebuef.[2] It is not found in Gautier de Coincy or the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages, in both of which other forms of invocation of the Virgin are frequent. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it occurs far less frequently as Notre Dame. Its usage at this period differs further from that of Notre-Dame in that it is confined to popular literature. No examples appear in Rabelais.

The frequent employment of this oath by Rutebuef is in harmony with the special reverence of the Virgin which he displays in his utterances. The absence

[1] Tit., 10861; Renart, 6141; Li Nerb. 286; Cox. Do. 1535; Ren I, 175; ib. I 6,3140; ib. XII, 1179; etc. [illegible]

of the oath from the miracles of Jean de Cointy and the dramatic miracles of the fourteenth century and from the polite literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth, make it seem evident that the oath was considered violent or sacrilegious. This attitude probably originated with the miracles of the Vierge, as before their appearance the oath is found in the chansons de geste where oaths of a sacrilegious nature as a rule do not occur.

The form of the imprecation varies much. Par (pour) Sainte Marie, Sainte Marie! and (par la) foi que je dois à (le corps de) Sainte Marie, etc (not later than the fourteenth century) are the most frequent.

Hé! dame, pour sainte Marie, faites le, pour cui plorés vos?, Escanfle, v. 376. — La Mecquenie me rendez, par Sainte Marie, Rutb. I, 96. — Je vous dy,

par sainte Marie, Que je n'en ay pas voulenté, R.P.T. IX, 1500. – Sainte Marie! dist li contais porteis, Loöis, sire, c'est povres recouvriers, Cor. Lo. 1535. – Sainte Marie! tu dis bien, R.T. M.S. T. III, 16, 17. – Par la foi que je doi au cors sainte Marie, Mangis, 45-17 (L.) – Foi que je doi sainte Marie, Ich amende vous en fenai, Fabl. III, 286. – Charlot, ainçois ost goute voze, Foi que je doi Sainte Marie, Rutb. II, 13. – Voir.

Other forms of invocation are:

par sainte Marie la belle, Vies. 57.① – par sainte Marie la gente, Ch. fr. ad. la Ren. 103. – Ie non sainte Marie, Aiol, 10861. – par le cors sainte Marie, Ren. XII 1178.② – par le cul sainte Marie, Fabl. I, 214. – par la vertu sainte Marie, Fabl. III, 240.

① Also Ch. fr. ad la Ren. 73, 99, 107. Also: Fabl. I, 20.

(f). Verge.

This appelation is found in both relatively frequently in the chansons de geste and in the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages. Outside of these texts, occasional occurrences are found in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The invocation takes numerous forms. Here variation of the qualifiers of verge; some of these forms occur [illegible]

la verge absolue (one example):

Seigneur, ce dist Richier, par la verge absolue, Une deffaute au cuer m'est maintenant venue, # Cap. 2275.

la verge distrée:

par la verge destrée # Cap. 5604.

R.g.S. I, 6; ib. II, 140; R.T.M.S.J. I, 22, 11; N. fr. ac. la Ren. 29736; N. fr. [illegible]
I, 294, 32; ib. II, 415; Rut. [illegible]

la vierge honorée :

Sire &c, fet li glout, par la vierge honorée, Mout a bel homme en vous, &c, Doon, 4365. — Ne moy, par la vierge honorée, Mus. Mé. II, 975.[1]

la vierge louée :

Frere, ce dist li rois, par la vierge loée, En l'abit ou je sui n'y feray ja entrée, HCap. 55-47.

la vierge Marie :

Amis, par la vierge Marie, La lettre vient a moy tout droit, Mus. Mé. I, 1084. — Non fas, par la vierge Marie, ib. XXX, 791.[2]

[1] Also: Mus. Mé. II, 682; ib. VI, 93, 1470; ib. XVI, 8; ib. XVIII, 971; ib. XXXIII, 460; Doon, 2026, 4365; Chans. du XVe S. 108; R.g.S. I, 6. [2] Also: Mus. Mé. I, 822; ib. II, 434; ib. XXII, 272; ib. XXXI, 2219; Eust. Desch. IV, 323; R.g.S. II, 110.

la vierge mostrée :

Sire, dist hy hermit, a la barbe mestee,
Vous estes bien venus, par la vierge nostree, HCaf. 5542.

la vierge pucelle :

Por ce le fas, par la vierge pucelle, Que
t'amendise en soit et gente et bele,
RLambr. 1769. - Pour la doulce vierge pucelle, Qui puelt estre ma niece ?, Mir.
MD. VI, 265. ①

la douce vierge puissante :

Par la doulce vierge puissant, Se dieu
plaist, vous aurez voir dit, Mir. MD. I, 640.

① Idem : RLambr. 3494 ; Elie, 1457 ; Mir. MD. I, 1512 ; ib. VI, 761,
1185 ; ib. IX, 941, ib. [illegible]

4. Angels.

Invocations of the angels by the appelation ange[1] are very rare. Our only examples are:

Par le benoist ange, je n'y voy encore aparence, Quil y ait rien en fasciere, R.G.S. I, 220. — por Dieu et por ses angles, Aiol, 9095.

[1] For oaths invoking St Pierre, St Michel, etc, cf below in chapter "Saints Invoked"

4. Holy Human Beings.

I. Saints.

1a. As a class or in groups.

I include under this heading all forms of invocation addressed to the saints. The word saints may signify either the saints personally or the material relics of the saints and other holy personages. Following my classification, oaths of the second class should be considered in Chapter 7 - Holy Material Objects -, but on account of the complete confusion in the oaths of the two ideas, the saints and the relics, it has been found necessary to treat the two forms of oath together. The confusion existed evidently in the minds of the Old French themselves. The invocation of the relics of a saint was at the same time an invocation of the saint himself, as is [illegible]

the following passage in a Capitulary of Charlemagne of the year 803: Omne sacramentum in Ecclesia juretur ... Sic illum Deus adjuvet et sancti quorum istae reliquiae sunt, ut veritatem dicat.[1] The following couplet from Raoul de Cambrai (ll. 4956-7) Tous les saints que vos ici veez Et par les autres dont chiex ust aorez, seems to contain an oath by relics in the first line and one by saints in the second. While treating the two oaths together, I have called attention wherever it seemed possible to recognize either relics or saints as the object of invocation in any particular form (2).

[1] Baluzius, Capit. Reg. Franc. I, 398. [2] For official oaths by the relics and saints, see: Baluzius, I, 154, 398; Leber, Coll. de pièces rel. à l'hist. de France, VI, 477-479; Ducange, s. v. "Juramentum". See also: Vilkeh. 60; Visions. 364.

Invocations of les saints are found very rarely after the fourteenth century.[1] Their occurrence is largely confined to the Chansons de geste, the fabliaux and the Renart. The number of examples in these three literary genres is about the same, viz. approximately once in 1500 lines. A few examples have been found that recall the use of this form of oath as a legal attestation. Compare: the duel oath in the Miracle of Amis et Amiles[2], the oaths of Renart and Ysengrin before their duel,[3] the oath of Hessent denying the charge of adultery[4] and the oath of a chanoine accused of murder in a Miracle de Notre Dame.[5]

[1] Mich. et Roy. I, Hist. de Rectr. du queue. ch. XXXII; Ph. fre. ac. la. Ren. 106; Rec. de Farces, 42. [2] Mir. ND. XXIII, 1046. [3] Ren. VI, 1092; XIII, 2159. [4] Ren. I, 147. [5] Mir. ND. III, 250.

tous(tes) saints:

Found frequently in the fabliaux of the first half of the thirteenth century, but very rarely elsewhere.[1]

Par tous les sains, fait cluy, celi, Fabl. II, 164. — Par avons dormi, par toz sainz que por nos poons tenir, ib. III, 279.[2]

The following example is evidently an invocation of the saints:

Par toz sains et ~~par toutes et~~ par toutes saintes, fiz, j'ai oï merveilles mantes, Fabl. IV, 89

les saints de dieu:

This is by far the most frequent formula for the invocation of les saints

[1] Eust. Desch. VII, 166 (Förster); Mich. et Pouy. vol. I, Hist. de Berth. du Guesc., ch. XXXII. [2] Also: Fabl. I, [illegible]

during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Par tes saints dieu, pour ta ?, Ren. II, 918. - Ho, par tous tes saints de Dieu! je cuit que vous lesoés, Doon, 6411.[1]

les saints dessous ciel:

Spon volie ally emploiet en ses chansons de geste.

Et je voz jur, par tes saints dessous ciel, que voz serez andui conseillié, Jourd. Bl. 101.[2]

les saints de la messe (one example):

Mais, par tous les saintz de la messe, je veuly que me tenez promesse, Rec. de Farces, 42.

[1] Ren. II, 344, 1303; ib IX, 961; Doon, 6295; Sgm. Marb. 2590; Elie, 1234; Raol III, 174, 234, 245; etc. [2] also: Raol, 42, 54, 57, 15.

les saints du monde:

found only in Mee Renart.

Par les sainz de trestout le mond, c'est li gourfés, Ren. II, 240.[1]

les saints de paradis (one example):

Par tous les saincts de paradis, pour cuing il en trouvera dix, Th. fr. 5. av. la Ren. 106.

les saints de sainte église (one example):

Par toz les sainz de seinte yglise, Tabl. IV, 77.

les saints, - que je voie ici, - de céans, etc.

6 occurrences are found only in Torinese and Mee Renart.

Par les sains que je voi ici, soënt a dex tot manti, Ren. XIII, 215 y. - Car par les sains de céans, je ne vaudroie avoir mon tel pechié, Torino. 673.[2]

[1] Also: XIV, 914. [2] Also: Ren. III, 1002

les saints qu'on adore (prie, &c.) :

Occasional examples of this form occur during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Par trestoz les seinz que l'en prie Dos resenblez le chen qu'ele crea, Ren. II, 181. - Sire, par tous les sains que en prie en chu moustier Je me prendroie, Ch. d'Ant. 1948.[1]

les saints que dieu a bénis :

Two examples from the Chansons de geste are to be found.

Sire, par les sains que dieus a beneïs, Mains grans estors en estora fornis, Aub.a 135, 19.[2]

les saints que dieu fit :

Found only in the Chansons de geste.

Seignor, dist ele, par les sains que Dex fist,

[1] Also: Ren. I, 147; Fab. I, 2 &c. [2] Also: 2149.

Si vos sanbleg d'aler et de venir ... Bien je ne sai ki grey est mes. mais, Am. m. Am. 1958. ①

7 les two following unique examples in-voke the saints:

Mais par les sains qui Jhesu ont proié Se je tant ... q'ai l'eir laick, Ne te lairai, ib. 3621. — Par toz les sains ... Et pas les autres dont Dieu est aourez etc., ib. 4956.

In addition to the above invocations of les saints, we find frequently in the chansons de geste, the fabliaux and the Renart forms which distinguish the geographical location: les saints

① Elie de St. G. 1240; Aiol, 1097; Am. u Am. 2374.

These invocations take the forms par(pour) les saints de —, par(pour) les saints qui sont à — par(pour) les saints qu'on chercher à — and par(pour) les saints qu'on prie à —. The second and third of these forms evidently invoke relics; the object of invocation in the first and fourth forms is doubtful. Les saints de Rome[1] is much the most frequently invoked group of saints. Other groups found in native are those of Bayonne, Bethléem,[3] Bretagne,[4] France,[5] Galice,[6] Jérusalem,[7] Orient,[8] Orléans,[9] Paris[10] and Pontlieu.[11]

[1] Ren. 2494; Ren. VII, 285; ib. —, 338; ib. XIII, 2021; ib. XVII, 1572; ib. XXIII, 725; B Seborg, I, 182 (L.); Tabl. II, 91; ib. III, 230; ib. V, 72; Mun Mss. III, 260. [2] Ren. Cambr. 1874. [3] Sélavian, 2:11 (L.); Ren. I, 430; ib. XXII, 201. [4] Ren. Nanteuil, 2:6; Prise de Londres, 1:2; Ren. Montauban, 345; 424 (L.); Aub. 225; Aub. 2:2. [5] Tabl. I, 3. [6] Ren. XVII, 1431. [7] Tabl. II, 11. [8] Ren. XIII, 2001. [9] Ren. Montauban, 425 (L.). [10] Tabl. I, 152. [11] Ren. Cambr. 187, [12] Ren. Cambr. 196.

The invocation of relics or the saints in groups by any other appelation than les saints is rare. Compare:

par chez saintes reliques, Q Mant. 914.—
Par seint Martin, Ren. XIII, 2134.

Teste. Sien plene de reliques (Rab. II, 343) represents a meaningless confusion of oaths by la Tete-Dieu and reliques. The indirect invocation of an individual saint through the medium of some special relic is not uncommon.

par la grand Bottine, par le boyau de Saint Benoist, Rab. III, 176.—
Par la boudine saint Fiacre, Gloss. 159.—jurerez son Ca dent saint Roenan, Ren. Va, 1126.[1]

[1] For additional examples, see below, p. 178.

b. Individually.

The forms for the invocation of the saints individually vary largely for the different texts and the different periods of the language that have been covered in this study.

During the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in all but a few exceptional cases, invocations of individual saints take the three forms (a) par (pour) saint —, (b) par ta (celle) foi que (je; tu, vous) dois (dois, devés) à (le corps) saint — and (c) par (pour) le corps de saint —. In the chansons de geste (c) is the most frequent form showing one occurrence to every 5'00 lines, (a) is next with one to 1000 lines, while (b) occurs only once in 2 5'00 lines; in the Renart (a) is the most frequent with one occurrence to every 4'00 lines, (b) shows

one to 950 lines and (c) occurs sporadically; viz the fabliaux (a) again is the most popular form with one occurrence to 390 lines, (b) shows one to 1000 lines and (c) is rare.[2] The same order of frequency exists for the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages as for the fabliaux and the Renart, viz. (a) once in 1000 lines, (b) once in 4000 and (c) very rare.[3] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries par saint- and the interjectional form saint-! are the ordinary formulas of invocation, each occurring approximately once in 100 lines. Later than the fourteenth century par (pour) le corps saint- does not occur and par la foigne je dois à saint-, etc. is soon obsolete.[4]

[1] I, 53-73; III, 317; XVI, 636. [2] II, 8, 12. [3] XXIII, 850; XXVI, 1312.
[4] Mir. fr. av. la Ren. 14; R.F.F. I, 222; ib. III, 119; Rom. XXIII, [illegible].

There are a number of other formulas of invocation of much less frequent occurrence than the three above mentioned; par (mon sieur (monseigneur), saint —, occurring mostly in the fifteenth and sixteenth;[1] (par le) vertu de saint —, found only in the fifteenth and sixteenth;[2] vertre de saint —, found only in the fifteenth and sixteenth;[3] (par le) sang de saint —, fifteenth and sixteenth only;[4] de par saint —, showing two sporadic occurrences[5]; ~~[illegible]~~, en (au) nom de saint —, with three sporadic cases;[6]

[1] Ren. XIV, 570; Mem. de M. II, 911; R.P.F. I, 312; ib. II, 113; R.F.M. S-J. II, 4, 45; ib. I, 7, 12; ib. IV, 5, 25; etc. [2] Rec. de Farces, 6, 7; R.F.M. S-J. II, 4, 43; ib. II, 5, 18; M. frç. av. la Ren. 145, 193, 279; A. M. frç. I, 124; etc. [3] Rab. I, 21, 104, 272, 340; R.F.M. S-J. I, 24, 16; ib. II, 1, 21; M. frç. av. la Ren. 12, etc. [4] Mich. et Roy. IV, 519; C. Mem. I, 27; Rab. II, 301; Rec. de Farces, 74 (Zotchen). [5] Tabl. I, 76; Mem. de M. III, 470. [6] Tabl. I, 176; R.F.M. S-J. II, 13, 8; Mich. et Roy. IV.

and le baron saint —, found in two oaths in the fabliaux.[1] Other forms of invocation occur in unique examples; the following have been noted:[2]

Par saint Arnaud, Rab. II, 202. — par la grand Bottine, par le tonsel de saint Benoist, Rab. III, 176. — par le tombeau de saint Christofle, Rab. II, 174. — a l'onneur monseignor saint Fiacre, R. y. S. I, 7. — je vous livre l'espine saint Fiacre en Brye, Rab. II, 218. — Par la boudine saint Fiacre, Pois. 59. — par les plaies saint Jermain, Fabl. IV, 123. — par la dive oye Guenet, Rab. II, 115. — par le saint baron de Galice, Mir. Not. VII, 128. — par les costez saint Martin, Fabl. III 242. — par la roche saint Morant, Fabl. I 21. — par la main destre a saint Pol, Li Nus, 274. —

[1] I, 102; II, 223.

[2] Zöerlein (p.p. 112-113) classifies a number of these examples under the heading "Religiösen, kirchliche gegenständ[e] etc", [illegible] p. 17[illegible]

jurez son tu dent saint Denau, Ren Va, 1126. — par les costez, par les mancles, par le poumon --- sainte Marie, 4 Couns. 155-150.

The oaths invoking individual saints have been very popular at all periods, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries their occurrence was especially frequent. In the Chansons de geste the different forms occur once to every 290 lines, the saints most frequently invoked being St Denis, St Pierre, St Paul, St Jacques, St Remi and St Richier; in the Renart, once to 260 lines, with St Germain, St Lienart (generally rhyming with Renart), St Pierre, St Gille, St Riquier, St George and St Denis showing the most frequent occurrence; in the following, once to 275 lines, St Pierre, St Martin, St Germain, St Denis, St

gille, St Denis and St. Omer in the greatest number of examples; in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages, once to 730 lines, St Gille, St Pierre, St Remi and St Nicholas being most frequently invoked; in the drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, once to 450 lines, St Jean, St Jacques, St Pierre, St George, St Gille and St Martin being the most popular saints.

The influence that rhyme had upon the choice of individual saints as the objects of invocation was evidently very great during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the chansons de geste, the Renart, the fabliaux and the Miracles of Notre-Dame, to judge from the almost unvariable occurrence of calls by individual saints at the end of the line with saints' names in rhyme position,

one is led to realize that the choice of the saint is almost entirely determined by the rhyme. The rare appearance of the name of the saint outside of rhyme position is especially noticeable in the fabliaux. Zöckler (p. 17) remarks that out of 135 examples in the fabliaux only two show the saints' name not in rhyme position. In the Chansons de geste we find only a few well-known saints whose names are found outside of rhyme; St Denis, St Jacques, St Pierre and St Paul are the most frequent to be so used. Furthermore, for examples where the name of the saint stands in rhyme we observe very little distinction of popularity between the different saints. It has been remarked that

the occurrence of the names of saints in rhyme position is more frequent in rhymed than in assonanced poems. It would seem that these oaths were used as an easy means of furnishing rhymes. Naturally the need ~~for such~~ was not as great in assonanced poems, where there is more liberty in the choice of the final syllable. For example, Orson de Beauvais, in assonance, though showing a tendency to rhyme, gives only one example of the oath by a saint in rhyme position, ~~for the first~~ 1000 lines while Aymeri de Narbonne, in rhyme, gives eight cases. Neither shows examples of the oath out of rhyme position. Again, La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne gives no examples, Raoul de Cambrai, six; La Prise de Cordres et de Séville, none, Li Narbonnais, six. Undoubtedly, however, the choice of the saints in [illegible]

measure affected by other influences, such as the desire of the author or the jongleur to display his religious knowledge or the local and temporal reputation of the different saints. The utilization of oaths by saints for rhyme purposes ceases in the fifteenth century with the appearance of better principles of style and art.

The invocation of single saints by means of formulas which do not specify the saint is largely confined to the chansons de geste. The majority of these formulas are based on the appelation apôtre. Par l'apôtre que cherchent les pélerins (pénéants) is the commonest of these oaths. It is confined entirely to the chansons de geste, where its occurrence is approximately once to every 25'000 lines. It is probable that St Jacques of Santiago is intended, as the same

was the most favoured object of pilgrimage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Par l'apostre qu'on cherchent en l'arche, is also probably an invocation of St Jacques. Its occurrence is restricted to the chansons de geste, but it is not so common as the preceding formulæ.[1] All other forms for the invocation of unspecified saints are ~~not~~ occur in meagre examples.[2] I will quote the following cases:

Par icel apostle pour cui dey fait derly, Mor, 8575. - Et par l'apostre cui dey donna bon gré, Am. u. Am. 2302. - Par saint apostre, Fabl. I, 100. - Toi que deves le seint Martin, Ren. Ib, 2488.

[1] See: Orenge, 1083; Mor, 9060; Ch., 55. [2] See, however, p. 2[illegible]

List of Saints' names employed in oaths in the Medieval Romances

St. Acaire (rare):

I noticed in two oaths from the Jus Adam. St. Acaire was bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, and these two examples probably indicate his local reputation in the north-east.

Frere, ains avai mengié avant, Par la foi que doi saint Acaire, Th. fre. aum. a. 85.[1]

St. Adaumas (one example):

Non, dy ie, pas sainct Adaumas, car tu seras mil foys pendu, Rab. I, 305.

A fictitious saints' name, formed on aumas-ain, as is evident from the context.[2]

Ste Affrie (one example):

Sa[illegible] Amadour et sainte Affrie s'en vinjurant au lit Guillain, Fabl. II, 65.

[1] Ellen, p. 50. [2] See Rab. IV, 214.

st. Almon (one example):

Anel? fait il, par saint Almon, Cestui n'est mie fils molon, Fabl. II, 181.

Ste Agnès (very rare):

par la foi que doi sainte Agnes, Ren XIV, 1046 and XVI, 610.

Ste Agathe (very rare):

Por sainete Agatte, Vas y doneques ainsi qu'on dort, Th. fr. c. av. la Ren. 15. - par le cors sainte Agace, Mir. Nd. XXVI, 1312.

st. Alain (one example):

par saint Alain, Fabl. III, 210.

Ste Alix de Hanstone (one example):

je m'en étendroie N. Dioites de monoie, Par Saint Aliste de Hanstone, Fabl. II, 64.

st. Aloze (one example):

J'aüsse bien de toi afaire fait le vilains par saint Aloze Ne fust sans plus por une cloze, Fabl. I, 26

st. Amadour (very rare):

Saint Amadour et saint Affrise S'en vint jurant, Fabl. II, 65. – Et par monsieur saint Amadour, R. T. M. S-J. IV, 5, 25.

st. Amand:

3 collated occurrences of this invocation are found at ace periods.

Trois enperere, par le cors saint Amant, Jeter vos ai par mes armes portant, R Camb. 68. – Li clers li dist: Par saint Amant, Vos m'aleg a grant tort blasmant, Fabl. IX, 211. – Je vous jeure par mon saint Amant, Dus fi ay

plus menty que dys vray, R. P. 7. XI, 362.[1]

ST. André (one example):

Aucunes foiz, par saint Andrier, ni-ge veu plus bran cendrier, Gloss. 571.

ST. Anthoine (one example):

Ventre sainct Anthoine, Rab. I, 272.

ST. Arnaud (one example):

A Gascon speaks: Vas de sainct Arnault, gran seyste, qui me rebeilles, Rab. II, 202.

ST. Aubert (one example):

Mais m'en aoeis, par saint Aubert, Fabl. III, 16.

ST. Aubin (very rare):

Par saint Aubin, Mod.[4] 124.[2]

[1] Bible, 2533; Ken. de Montauban, 30, 72, 74 (Y.); Mus. 40, 51; Fabl. I, 201, 2; Jeu. [illegible]

St. Luiemen (one example):

con saint Luiemen, Ne me one bien oroie, Flore 652.

Ste. Aoie (one example):

Ne me reconforsés vous mie Par sainte Aoie, Mir. M&. XXVII, 512.

Ste. Bauteuch (one example):

Foy que doy sainte Bauteuch, Mir. M&. XXIX, 1148.

ST. Benoit (one example):

Marie, par ta grand Bonté,
Par le tombeau de sainct Benoist,
Tout homme qui bien me congnoist,
Quiera, que seray de bon. Rob. III, 176.

ST. Blaise (one example):

Elle dist: Par saint Blaise, Miez vaut la rosclaise
Ne vaut li clais, Ph. Pc. au m.a. 48.

This example from a pastoral [illegible]

tenth century reveals the position of St Blaise as

St. Blaes (one example):

foi que doi saint Blaeon, ... (Mignard), 82 (L.)

Katherine, Mir. Nd. XI, 353. - Sire, par sainte Katherine, Mes voutentiers, ib. XXXIV, 2476.©

St. Charlot (= Charlemagne?) (one example):

Non feray je par sainct Charlot, a. fr. fre. I, 186.

St. Christophe (rare):

Susciente doit, par saint Cristoffle, ... - par le fardeau de saint Cristoffle, R d'H. II, 174. The invocation of the burden of St Christopher is probably

©also: ib. I, 93. ®Rev. de Montauban, 346 (L.); Aub. 116; BSeb. ... I, 75, 118, 579 (L.); ib. II, 160 (L.); ...

a reference to the legend which relates that this saint always bore Christ with him; hence the name Christo-phorus.

St. Clair (one example):

Mennil, Par saint Clarion (in rime position), B Bouillon, 2724 (x.).

Ste. Claire (one example):

Par le cors sainte Claire, Chron. des Ducs (Hippeau), I, 58 (x.).

St. Claude (one example):

Par sainct Claude, Jurez-vous et vous de[illegible] ne[illegible] rage, Th. [illegible] au Ba Ren 212.

St Clément:

9 occasions of this saint are found in occasional examples from the Fabliaux, Lovelaye and from Chansons de geste of the [illegible]

Ne volons mie, par le cors saint Clement, Que nostre pere se vant devant sa gent, Li Mor. 873.-
Mais le pensas, par saint Clement, Fabl. I, 96.[1]

St. Côme (very rare):

Toy que je doy a sainct Damien et sainct Cosme, Je ne trouvay aujourd'huy homme Qui me donast un seul nicquet, Ch.fr.s. av. la Ren. 14.[2]

St. Copin (very rare):

Mon chier seigneur, par saint Copin, Vous soiez li tresbien venus, Mun. Mk. XV, 946.[3]

St. Coquilbaut (very rare):

Si estoit, par sainct Coquilbault, R.g.S. II, 157.-
Et je suis mon, sainct Coquilbault, Ch.fr.s. av. la Ren 341.

[1] Aym. Mart. 700; Berte, 257.-33; Am.m. Am. 2830; Cap. 563, 3276; Rueves de Jerus. 556, 3101 (X); Enf. Ogier, 1275. (X.); Mauv. 7743 (X); Fabl. I, 101. [2] Also: R.g.S. II, 200. [3] Ch.fr.s. av. la Ren. 341.

St. Corneille (one example):

Monsui, fet il, par saint Corneille, Fabl. I, 80.

St. Crespin (one example):

Par saint Crespin, vous en mourés, K. 7 M.S. V. II, 313.

ST. Cyriace (occasional):

Vous en aurez a grant forsion... par saint Ciric, Fabl. I, 98. - Par sainct Siric, je n'en veuil nulz, H. frç. au. la Ren. 212.[5]

St. Kanuen (one example):

Toy que je doy a sainct Kanuen etc., H. frç. au. la Ren. 14.[5]

St. Kaniel (sporadic in the Chansons de geste):

Ali. jure le cors saint Kaniel, K. Camb. 4668.[1]

[6] Ren. de Montauban, 335, 369, 382, 398, 439, etc. (X.); Fabl. I, 176; ib. V, 147; Mus. Mé. III, 382; ib. XVII, 717; ib. XXVII, 1729. [2] Gayd. 133; B Iebourg, I, 82, 105 (X.); Chev. au Cygne, I, 233.

St. Laud (very rare):

Par sainct Laud, je ne sai pas, Ren. XVI, 868.[1]

St. Denis, - Denise:

Both forms of the name occur parallel to one another, the former being approximately three times as frequent as the latter. Invocations of this saint are especially common in the chansons de geste[2] and the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages[3]. The invocation is very rare after the fourteenth century.[4] In the chansons de geste St. Denis is the most frequently invoked saint. This is due to his position as patron of the French, and specifically of the royal family. In a number of examples the phrase de France qualifies the name of the saint.[5] The royal family show a preference

[1] Also: Aub.[a] 145. [2] Alisc. 1959, 3363, 4937, 7356; G Bourg. 38, 66, 1730; H Bord. 1016; Mynes, 741; G Ayd. 674; Cor. Lo. 547; Jer. Vit. I, 205; K Camb. 2846; etc.

[3] XIII, 378; XIV, 96; XXXVI, 18. [4] Mich. et Pon. IV, 566. [5] Aub.[a] 198; Per. Duch. 2173; Ren. [illegible]

for the oaths in forms such as par saint Denis qui est mes dieux[1] and par saint Denis ou dieu je suis son chief[2]. The frequency with which qui de Dieu y sont uses the oath results apparently from its claim to the divine in accordance with Charlemagne's promise.[3]

Par saint Denis, eg[enne] voir, lequel prés, petit, vos clochez, Ren. I, 172. – Par saint Denis, j'erai leur compte, Mus 7385. – Foi que doi Saint Denis, tiene mais, ne vi si faites gens, Tabl. I, 177. – etc.[4]

St Lidier, – Lesier; (see xamples):

Par saint Lidier, Ire vos tenteis, Mir. Vel. XXXIV 17, 7.[5]

St. Tomas (one example):

Cil, par saint Tomasse, Chron. au règne (Hubscau), II, 54, 1.

St. Eloi:

Examples are very rare[6] outside of the Alexiad and

[1] May m. 2327. [2] Jaud. 177. [3] Berry. 58, 007, 1730. [4] See examples. [5] Also Vel. Mart. 246, II, 17.

and of twenty centuries; they are particularly common in the chansons de geste and in religious literature

Ains plus a mon ken, saint Eloy, Gloss. 121. — Par saint Eloy, je ta vueil tuer, Mir. NDame VI, 189.①

St. Etienne (one example):

Par la foi que doi a saint Estiene, Mem. [illegible]

St Eustace (sporadic)

Par la foy que doy saint Huytasse, vous n'estes pas crestiens, Mir. NDame I, 680.②

St. Facond (sporadic in the chansons de geste):

Par le cors saint Fagon, Puis fet vous plaist, nous vous otroion, A Carth. 11179.③

① also: Ren XVII, 550; Gayd. 5249, 6059; Aub.a 27; Mir. NDame XXXII, 1555, also Anglois. ② Ille: Tuet. II, [illegible]; P.P.F. I, 222. ③ See Langlois.

St. Faradin (one example):

par saint Faradin, Il ne becoa jamez, Droon, 9668.

St. Félix (rare):

Foi que doi le corps saint Felise, N'i morut se bel moine en l'eglise, Ren. III, 917.[1]

St. Fermin (sporadic):

Une canson tole novele d'amorites qui molt est bele Et bien fete, par saint Fermin, Ren. XI, 1674–Que, foi que doi saint Fermin d'Ainnois, Je remendrai ici en Nerbonois, Aym. Narb. 612.[2]

St. Ferréol (one example):

Mais par saint Ferreol d'Abbeville, Les oeuvres Bodelettes de nos pays sont mille fois plus advenentes, Rob II, 308

[1] RCambr. 8713; ACartu. 251; Faol. II, 181; see also Langlois. [2] Also: #Cal. 1252; ACartu. 3261; RCambr. 1605; Li Nart. 2252, &c.

St. Fiacre

Accens sporadicaly in oaths & exclamations.
Par la tombe saint Fiacre, Clerins. 15 f. – Par la foy que je doy saint Fiacre, Ibid. Mk. III, 044. – Ah Bonneur monseigneur saint Fiacre, faites moy quelque charité, R.G.S. I, 71. – Je vous iure l'eglise de sainct Fiacre en Braye, Rab. II, 218.

St. Flore (one example):

Par saint Eutrise et par saint Flore, fait li clercalices, ge n'ai cure, Fabl. II, 85.

St. Florent (one rare):

Par saint Florent de Roie, c'est à vrai, H Cap. 1939.[1]

St. François (one example):

tout que doi saint François, P Schoung, II, 394 (1.4.)

[1] a Castle.

St. Fursy (one example):

Non feisses, par saint Fursi, Fab. I, 100.

St. Gabriel (one example):

Par saint Gabriel, #Cap. 37.

Ste Garie, - Warie, - Guérie; (rare):

Speaking of the Comte de Poitiers, devotion of St. Louis: Li plus grant de ces sairements Sicestort: Par sainte Garie, Rutebeuf I, 5. - par la foi sainte Warie, Gcoins. 156. - Par la gorge me par la teste Me par le cuer sainte Warie ... Par les cotes, par les mamelles ... sainte Warie, id. 150. - par sainte Guérie, Mir. Mar. XXVIII, 1960.

Ste. Gemme (one example):

Autel vous di, par sainte Gemme, des tiens miracles Nostre Dame, Gcoins. 543.

St. Georges:

This saint was a favorite object of invocation from the end of the fourteenth century through the sixteenth century. Occurrences of this name in oaths are very rare in the Chansons de geste,[1] only one case in the Renart[2] and three in the fabliaux.[3] His relatively frequent use in the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages[4] and the drama of the fifteenth century.[5] In addition to the more common forms of saint-invocation, we have noted the following: par monsieur saint Georges,[6] par tous sains saint Georges[7] and [illegible] saint Georges![8]

Dame, foi que je doi saint Jorge, ... ains vins me

[1] Gir. de Rousillon (Mignard Ed.), 148, 221 (x).
[2] IX, 604. [3] I, 245; II, 19; III, 147. [4] XII, 130; XV, 304; XVII, 100; XIX, 696; XXXII, 768, 1523. [5] R.F. MS-F. I, 7, 11; ib. II, 7, 43; Th. fr. ao. th. en. 103; d. th. fr. c. II, 123; Rec. de ... co, 7; C Mar. I, 27; ... [6] R.F. MS-F. I, 7, 11. [7] C Mar. I, 27; Mich. et Pong. IV, 5 ... [8] Rec. de Farce, 7; R.F. MS-F. ... 43; ib. II, 5, 18; ...

fait la tonele a mene, Fabl. III, 147.– Par saint George, ce ou venra, Que de ceci me souvendra, Mist. du Vieil. XXXII, 108.– Ce! vient l'an corre Et Par saincet George je devra a cy, Chastie. ad. la Ken. 103.

St. Géry (very rare):

Not found later than the thirteenth century. Remain au jor hui trois fois vos envoi dedens ma tor, par le cors saint Géri, Pl'amon. 800.[2]

St. germain:

Scattered occurrences of invocation of this name occur from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Examples from the fabliaux are especially numerous (one to every 4000 lines). The saint is usually invoked in the simple formula par (pour) saint germain; pour les plaies saint [illegible]

[2] See Bédier, "Légendes Épiques," vol. 2, [illegible]

main[1].

Si dist: est-ce le sorgretain ? Monk, dance, par saint Germain, Fabl. V, 237. – Si erras tu, par saint Germain, Nuir. Mk. XXX, 1124. – etc.

Ste. Gertrude (one example):

Par sainte Pietres de Nivelle, Jure Messe le qu'il levent, Fabl. II, 70.

St. Gervais (confined to chansons de geste)

...rtout, ce a dit Maines, par le cors saint Gervais, Ren. de Montauban, 336 (L.).[2]

St. Gignon (one example):

Par sainct Gignon, tu ne mens, Fabl. & Co. La Ren. 103.

St. Gille:

Common at nearly all periods. Occurrences elsewhere include

[1] Fabl. IV, 123. [2] see Langlois. Also: BSebourg, II, 192, 401; Gayd. 4...

chansons de geste[1], but are frequent in the Renart (one to every 3000 lines), the Fabliaux (one to 6000) and the Miracles de Nostre-Dame (2 per-sonnages (one to 6000). J. Autier de Coincy makes noticeably frequent use of the oath, especial-ly ~~especially~~ in his own utterances at the opening and close of his narratives[2]. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the employment is occasional[3]

The saint is rarely invoked except in the regular formulas par (pour) saint Gille, par le corps saint Gille, and foi que doi saint Gille etc; the exceptional oaths forms par monsieur saint Gille[4] and au nom de saint Gille[5] are also rare in the xii. teenth and sixteenth centuries.

[1] Aye, 1356; H. Bord. 9202. [2] 255, 271, 491, 603, 625, 662. [3] R.Y.S. II [illegible] 363; N. T. III. 3-J. II, 13, 8; H. [illegible] ac. ta Ren. 93; Viel (Recettes) 207; N. P. T. III, 199; [4] R.Y.S. II, 363; H. [illegible] ac. ta Ren. 93, [5] N. T. III. 3-J. II, 13, 3.

Par saint Gille, fait il, pour tout ce, N'iray je mais devant demain, Escoufle, 7056. - Se il vous parment, par saint Gille, qu'vous troverront a essil, Ren. XL, 56. - Egar! avis, m'est par le corps saint Gille que venir le voy, Mir. Nd. XXIII, 850. - Par saint Gille, Monde, vous estes difficile Par trop!, R.q.S. II, 337. - etc.

St. Joran (one example):

Par sainct Joran (dist le moyne) Telle m'est mon exposition, Rab. I, 210.

St. Gonces (one example):

Foy que doy saint Gonces, Roon, 7109.

St. Gribouct (one example):

Par sainct Gribouct, Le bon Gribouct, c'est mon juré, Rec. de Farces, 122.

St. Grégoire (very rare)

Ha! fet Jehans, par saint Gregoire,

Va savoir s'il i est encore, Fabl. I, 207.[1]

St. Gris![2]

Probably a fictitious saint. The name does not appear in oaths before the end of the fifteenth century. It occurs very rarely[3] in the simple formulas for saint-invocation. The ordinary oath-form is ventre saint gris!; (par la) ventre saint gris[4] and sang saint gris![5] occur occasionally.

La plume, sainct gris! ouy, R.F.M. S-J. III, 15, 8. – Ventre sainct-gris y m'est advis que ie les voy, ib. I, 22, 16. – Ventre sainct gris que tu es aise, Compaignon d'amours, C Mar. I, 36. –

[1] Enf. Vaud. 15 s. (?) Fabl. I, 108. [2] See above p. [illegible], also Zöckler, p. 11, [3] A. N. fre. II, 86; R.F.M.S-J. III, 15, 8. [4] 7 h. 4 c. ad. La Ren. 271; A. N. fre. I, 357. [5] Rab. II, 301.

Souvent je t'y regrette, Hé!, par la vertu saint Fris, Th. et c. ac. La Ren. 217.[1]

St. Guillermes (one example):

A chou ne bács ja, que, par saint Guillemer, je renai tout premier as rustes cous paier, Coon, 8225.

Ste. Hélène (very rare):

Et qu'ust ceci, per sainte Elaine, Fabl. III, 83.[2]

St. Herbert (= Aubert ?) (one example):

Preudom, fet il, queins vous Herbert, Guan, foi que doi a saint Herbert, Fais trop ceenz mult ne gerra, Fabl. III, 229.

[1] Also: R. F. M. S-J. II, 11, 21; A. Th. fr. I, 198, 334.

[2] Also: Mich. Fabl. II, 213?

St. Hilaire (confined to thirteenth and fourteenth):

Par cele foi que je doi saint Hylaire, Se dex ne que je vis en repaire ire, K'onques. 1023. - En sa chambre a plus de lumiere, Qu'en son moustier, par saint Hylaire, Gloss. 577.[1]

St. Honorat (confined to thirteenth and fourteenth):

Mes, par la foi que doi saint Ennorré, Qui que s'en aut, sachiez, je remandré, Ayn. Math. 240. - Cist dis, par saint Honnoré, Ne dureront tuit une seule heure, Gloss. 488. - de par sain.t Honoré, Ch. d'Orl. 1693.[2]

St. Jacques, - Jam.:

This saint is encountered with relative frequency in the chansons de geste (approximately once to four times), the Renart (once to 4000

[1] Also: Gayd. 2957; Aleart. 1788; Fier. 2306; Oger, 11404 (L.); Am. de Montauban, 396, 407 (L.); Mauges, 4507 (L.). [2] Also: Gloss. 1731; Chan. Guch. 2965; Li Mest. 90; Mir. Not. Dame

and the fabliaux (one to 7000). In religious literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the invocation is very rare.[1] In the fifteenth and sixteenth it becomes very common, especially in popular literature (one to 3000 lines in the farces).

In addition to the examples of the regular forms of saint-invocation, I have found the following oath-forms: par saint Jacques que querent pélerin,[2] par saint Jacques de Galice,[3] par le saint baron de Galice[4] and ventre saint Jacques![5] In the chansons de geste he is frequently invoked by formulas which do not specify the saint but give a circumlocution for his name.[6]

[1] Mir. N.-D. VII, 128. [2] Gar. d'Et. I, 243. [3] Fabl. III, 59.
[4] Mir. N.-D. VII, 128. [5] Rab. I, 104. [6] See above p. 183-4.

Car, par saint Jake a qui je doi proier,
S'un seul petit vos voi plus aproucier,
Tel vos donrai son elme vergier, Alisc.
1583. — Fait se il: Bele, par saint
Jame, .XX. sols de bons deniers me do-
ne, Fabl. I, 312. — Non, par saint Ja-
que de Galice, Fabl. III, 59. — Par sainct
Jacques, je te voy bien, Tu ne toy et moy
nens quelz conques, R.G.S. I, 166. — Sainct
Jacques! voire, Th. fre. ad la Ren. 57, etc.

St. Jean:

Oaths invoking St Jean are infrequent before the fifteenth century.① From the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth invocations of this saint far exceede in number those of any other saint.

① Th. fre. au m. a. 184; R Chart. 6069; Macaire, 1107(2); Ren. IX, 269; Fabl. IX, 157, 210; Mon. Mk. IX, 270.

their occurrence in the farces is in the proportion of one in 450 lines, which shows the oath to be one of the most commonly used forms of invocation. Outside of the farces and Rabelais, however, examples are rare.[1]

Par saint Jean and saint Jean! are the usual forms of invocation; Jean! with saint omitted is not infrequent.[2]

Est. Que voirs? que dis-ie? ie resverre. Est vous, oüi, par saint Jehan, Th. fr. c. au m. a. 154. — Dans clers, dist elle, par saint Jehan, James de moi ne parlerez, Fabl. IV, 210. — Car, par saint Jehan, et je les mangeroye, Th. fr. c. au. la Ren. 105. — Par saint Jehan, vous pouez penser Que n'ay pas peur de mes escus, ib. 211. —

[1] R. P. T. XI, 350. [2] Th. fr. c. au. la Ren. 193; A. Th. fr. c. I, 34, 41, 183; ib. II, 81, 82, 84, etc; see Löcklen, 104.

Que je ne sçay qu'il en sera. - Jehan, ne moy, Th. fr$_5$. av. la Ren. 441. — Jehan, ce n'est pas là raison, a. Th. fr$_5$. I, 182.

St. Josse (very rare):

Que tu es grosse. Monsui, dame, par saint Josse, Min. M. D. VI, 522. ①

St. Jude (one example):

Par saint Symon et par saint Jude, Vilain si fol sont et si nide Que bestial sunt comme bestes, Gloria. 625.

St. Julien (rare):

Foi que je doi saint Julien, Que je vne vous face contraire, Ren. XVI, 348. — Je get, de par saint Julien, Tab. V, 76. ②

① Also: ib. II, 971; VI, 622. ② Also: Alisc. 3857; Tab. II, [illegible].

St. Lambert (rare):

Et si me bouteray dedens, Par ta foy que doy saint Lambert, Mir. Mk. XXXI, 1719.[1]

St. Landri (very rare):

Ŧ le jure dieu et le cors saint Landri, Mort Gar. 82 (X.)[2]

St. Laurent (sporadic):

a ci dedenz .xiiij. tors ou plus, par saint Lorenz, Fabl. II, 19.[3]

St. Léger (confined to chansons de geste):

Par le cors saint Ligier, M'aurois mal, Lgier, 2509 (L.). — Seie, ce dist Richars, foi que doi saint Legier, Ains n'ot millor baron sergent ne chevalier, Ren. de Montauban, 4016 (V.)[4]

[1] Also: Prise de Cordres, 1512. [2] Also: Gar. Lor. I, 207. [3] B Sermons, I, 228 (V.); Beuve de Hant. 3405 (L.). [4] Gayd. 3022, 7434; Doon, 3281; Garn. 327; etc.

St. Léonard

The invocation of this saint is especially frequent in the Renart (once to 2000 lines), occasional examples occur in the chansons de geste[1] and the fabliaux[2], but elsewhere the oath is very rare.[3] The frequency of the oath in the Renart is explicable from the fact that in almost all examples the name of the saint stands in rime with Renart.[4]

Ainz volentiers, ce dist Renart, Par mon seignor saint Lienart, Ren. XIV, 870. – Ainz, sire, par saint Leonard, Fabl. II, 244. – Vous dites vray, par saint Lienard, Rec. de Farces, 100. – &c.

St. Leu (rare):

Mes nus n'en-ben talenz aura, Foi que doi au baron saint Leu, Fabl. I, 102.[5]

[1] Hoov. 1104; [2] Scbow. II, 228 (L.). [3] II, 203; 214; V, 236. [4] Rec. de Farces, 100. [5] I, 254; XIV, 870; XVII, 1394; &c. [5] Also: Ren. XVI, 1.

St. Lifard (one example):

par saint Lifart de Meun, Rose, II, 80.

St. Lo (one example):

Qu'est-ce, por le baron saint Lot, Fabl. V, 233.

St. Lubin (one example):

Si en ares, par saint Lubin, Mir. Nf. XXXVI, 69.

St. Lucas (one example):

Mais li dus Godefrois en fiere saint Lucas,
li gruens Robers de Flandre, mon sei-
gnor saint Lucas, Jerusalem, 82 (K.).

Ste. Lucie (one example):

Lire, fet il, par sainte Lucie, cel vi-
lain a la rouge aumuce, Ren. XVI, 1297.

St. Lucien (one example):

Par saint Lucien de Beauvés, Flor. Lucien

et mauvés, glorins. s'71.

St. Magloire

Exemples d'une invocation au second roi d'une des Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages; lecon et ii fregent.

Vous ferez bien, par saint Magloire, que n'avez fait, Mir. NdP. XI, 207. – A il saint de pain en ton sac pour aler voire? – Nanil, amis, par saint Magloire, ib. XXXVI, 20. – Qu'est-ce, Pierron, pour saint Magloire, ib. XXXIII, 518.①

St. Mangon (une exemple):

par saint Mangon qu'est a flacon, Ting. 24, 2 (Tolle).

St. Marc (rien à voir)

① lire: III, 370; XVII, 653; XVIII

[or] que tu dois saint Marc! Jusiés-vous-ent, Th. fr. au m. a. 152, – Quant li maistres t'oï, si jura par saint Marmicy. Tor vennoit tous estre par dela ta mar, Ren. de Montauban, 450 (K.).

St. Marcel:

Found [illegible] variety outside of the chansons de geste.

Alleg-vous en, que par le corps saint Marcel, ne plus t'atten[illegible], Vo pleçon ert ramendrez, Ren. XVI, 630. – ②

Ste Marthe (ou exemple):

par sainte Marthe, g'y vois, Mir. Mk. XXXVI, 150.

① Ren. XI, 3024; ib. XVI, 630; Fabl. IV, 145. ② Also: Gayd. 4497, 5194; H. Cap. 144, 940; Gaufr. 4488; etc.; see [illegible]

St. Martial (very rare):

dame, par saint Martïe, Se encore me vo-
lïés... Je vous aprendroie a foïer, Beborg,
I, 82[1] (x.).

St. Martin:

In the fabliaux this is one of the most frequently
invoked saints (once in 4000 lines). Invocations of his
name are also frequent in the chansons de geste[2] and
in popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centu-
ries; but are infrequent elsewhere.[3] The only optional
form for the costez saint Martin is found once in
the fabliaux:[4]

foi que doi saint Martin, fa Merbonnïes ne m'aurent
creüe, Aym. Marb. 388. - Si feras il, par saint Martyn,
Fabl. II, 195. - foi que je dois saint Martin, Dart m'est que
je lïe, ib. I, 249. - En mesnage fault main tesserin, Pols

[1] Also: J. Mani, 415. [2] See Langlois. [3] Cond. LXXXVIII; R.F. I, 223; ib. II, 113, 189;
R.F. Mo. - J. III, 11, 15; Cl. Mystc. I, 296. [4] Glorin. 241; Mei. NF. XII, 681.

de terre, par saint Martin, K'atlecinet [illegible], K.P.F. I, 222.

st. Matthieu (very rare):

Je souhaite, par monseign. saint Matthieu, Bribes, topins, toujours pour ma demande, K.P.F. I, 312 ①

st. Matturin (uncertain):

Je doy boire, et si mangeray de tout, par saint Matheli, Chens. maistre Pierre Patheli, Th. fr. c. la Ren. 90.

ste. Maude (one example):

Que bien vous di par sainte Maude Je n'en sai pas la verité, Ren XIII, 1679.

① Rue de Fauces, 110; T.L. fr. c. la Ren. 148.

st. Maur (sporadic):

Par saint Mor il m'est plus du cuer
Qui cy me fait mourir de soif, Mus. Mé. II,
779. — Sainct Mor! c'est dure pas-
sion, Th. fc. 5 ad. la Ren. 341. — Comment
est-ce que t'en t'appelle? Par sainct
Maur! Thibault d'Aignelet, ib. 105. ①

st. Maurice:

Examples are sporadic, coming princi-
pally from the chansons de geste.

Par saint Morise qu'on quiert en A-
miens, Je te semoing, tu venras avec
moi, Aliscans, 321, — Benoeignant sire,
par saint Maurice, Dieus ait de moy,
Mich. et Pey. I, Berth. du fuesel, ch. XXXII. ②

st. Mauront (one example):

① Also: Mus Mé. XXXIII, 334; Th. fc. 5 ad la Ren. 34; ② See Langlois.

par la voûte saint Morant, Fabl. I, 21.

st. Médard (very rare):

par saint Maart, En feu d'enfer n'iert teil ja ars, Gloins. 190.[1]

st. Merri (one example):

Icy, par saint Marry, R. P. T. IV, 323.

st. Michel (very rare):

Qui bien taisera, par saint Michel, Sagement sait faire son preu, Gloins. 415. – par l'ange saint Michel, Hilaire, 85.

st. Nicaise:

Invocations of this saint are common in the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personages,[2] but are rare elsewhere.[3]

Marie, dame, par saint Nicaise, Mir. Mr. II, 243. – par saint Nigraise, avec moi dismera tout aise, Fabl. III, 141.

[1] Richeut. 2631; Mauvais, 7382. [2] Cov. Mys. 164; Fabl. II, 255. [3] II, 243; XV, 214; XVIII, 750; XXXI, 2431. [4] Fabl. III, 141; R. P. T. [illegible]

st. Nicolas ; Nicol[3] (?) :

Invocations of this saint do not appear with special frequency at any one period or in any one form of literature. Occasional occurrences are found at all times. The saint was very fervently revered for his patronage of children, but no indications of this worship have been noted in the early church records.[4] An example of exceptional form of invocation is found in the text Saint Nicolas, protège nos enfants.[3]

dist Renart : par saint Nicolas, Ne te mesconseillerai pas, ren. XI, 824. — Quant Amenis commencha a jurer s'aint Nicholai, ne t'en doit avenir,

[1] Voir d'ci. 2192. [2] Notic, Nicolas ; par saint Nycolas, Beaum. (a gardez vous (i. e. from loving her son too much), Mir. Fr. I, 645.
[3] s. v. "Juramentum." From "Lit. Invoc. ann. 1330."

Misc. 318 v°. – Je cuit voir, par saint Nicolas, que tu aies faim de forment, Jab. I, 1. – Par saint Nicholas! ci ne demourent-il pas, Joinv. 22 c. – C'est mal fait, par saint Nicolas, Mir. Nd. VI, 311. – Sainct Nicholay! Voicy assez pour enmager, Th. fr. au. la Ren. 15. – etc.

St. Omer:

Found rarely[1] outside of the thirteenth century and chansons de geste of the fourteenth century.

Que voir vos diez, par saint Omer, Que je ne puis avant aler, Ren XL, 71. – Et dist: dame, par saint Omer, Ox sui je toz enfin gari, Fabl. IV, 60.[2]

St. Omise (one example):

[1] K. P. 7. I, 222. [2] See Langlois; [illegible]; etc., see Langlois.

Par saint Luc et par saint Jehan,
Fait li chevaliers, qui n'i ment, Fabl. II, 85.

St. Pantaleon (one example):

Je sui bon mestre de fisicien
Dou saint Pantaleon, Ren. IX, † 34.

St. Paul:

The invocation of St Paul is especially common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in chansons de geste of the fourteenth. Various occurrences in Foerster. It is the most frequently employed saint-invocation in the Lay of Aigar (once in 3000 lines). It is used commonly in the chansons de geste (once in 3000 lines) and furnishes many examples

Huon, Mél. XXXIII, 1475; R. P. 7, V, 245; Rec. de fabliaux, 6; Fragm. de Ren. 1, 3; A. Trist. I, 58; ib. II, 258, 432.

in religious literature of the thirteenth century.[1]

In addition to the regular forms of invocation, I have found vertu saint Paul![2] and par la main destre a saint Pol[3]. Very frequently in invocations of St. Paul, we find the name of the saint qualified by a phrase specifying some particular saint of the name, as: c'apôtre[4], le martir[5] d'Avalon[6], d'(E2)Pols[7], de Ravenne[8], de Tudelle[9] and de Palerne.[10]

Ja pel tantost en osteras. Volentiers, fait il, par saint Pol, Ren. XI, 6598.- Dame, dist il, par saint Pol de Tudelle, a mout petit m'est de vostre favelle, Gayd. 8951.- Car la dame dit: par saint Pol, Grue la science de cest mont Musardie est la sus

[1] Coins. 241, 603, 624; Rutebeuf. II, 109. [2] Huon. ad. la Ken. 193; A. Huon. I, 124; Rec. Coins. [illegible]. [3] li Nerb. 274. [4] Rutebeuf. II. 09. [5] Cambr. 4884. [6] Gayd. 2050, 5343, etc. [7] Aub. 133; Aub. 43. [8] Mor. 725, 7389; etc. [9] Gayd. 8951. [10] M. Aym. 1371.

ament, g'orme. 003.— dame, foi me gié doi saint Pol, fait li prestes, vos dites bien, Tabl. III, 181.— Tant y a qu'il me semble fol, c'est grant damage, par saint Pol, Mir. Mk. XXXIII, 1475.— Et, si larron suis jamais, par saint Pol, je veuly que vous estranglé par mon col, R.P.T. V, 248.— etc.

Ste. Pécinne (one example):

Ferent saincte Peckaine, Carth. 74-16.

Ste. Notre (very rare):

Bien venu, par. sainte Notre Mart I 39.[1]

St. Philibert (very rare):

par saint Philibert, Qui mal li fera ne se doubte ... qu'il ne li coustc, Mir. Mk. XXXIII, 1722.[2]

St. Picault (one example):

[1] Also: Autre av. le Ren. 312. [2] Also: Rec. I 119.

Par saint Picaut (respondit Panurge)
Nous ne ferons rien qui vaille, Rab. II, 144.

St. Pierre, – Père :

There seems to have been a confusion of the ideas Saint Père and Saint Pierre throughout the old French period, due to the similarity of the two names and to approximation of the two identities, the Holy Father and St. Peter.[1] We are unable to decide which of the two is the object of invocation.

The use of invocations of Saint Pierre (Père) is quite common. In the Renart the frequency of their occurrence is only exceeded by that of St. Léonard and

[1] The use of Saint Père (Pierre), with the article, referring to the Pope is found outside of Italo-Roman. Mir. NDA. XII

St Germain. In the chansons de geste St Pierre (Pière) stands next to St Denis in number of occurrences in oath. The [illegible] for the oath (once in 6000 lines). In the courtly Epic[1] and in religious literature of the thirteenth[2] and fourteenth examples are relatively frequent. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the oath is found only in the drama (once in 5000 lines).

In addition to the regular forms of invocation, par la vertu saint Pierre[3] and ventre saint Pierre[4] are found. It is very common for a qualifying phrase to accompany the saint's name, de Rome[5] and l'apô-

[1] Rich. 1776, 3468; Guib'a. 1719, [illegible] 4482, 4454. [2] Gloss. [illegible]; Mart. I. 155; Mis. Mc. XII, 223; ib. XIX, 692, 694; ib. XXIII 504; ib. XIXIII, 601, 692, 2100; it. XIXVI, 212. [3] Ht. aw. la Ren. 49. [4] Ht. c. aw. la Ren. 12. [5] Mc. n. IX, 978; Elie d. St y. 97; Tab. I. 77; Mart. I, 155; Mis. Mc. XIII, 1049; it. [illegible]

tre.[1] being like, most frequent form. It is possible that these two phraseers were to distinguish invocations of the Pope and St Peter respectively. The earth-form par cel apostre qu'on queent en Mouton-Pré (Pré-Mouton) is evidently directed to Saint Pierre (Père)[2] & occurs repeatedly in the chansons de geste,[3] but never elsewhere.

Par cel saint Pierre que dieus a Rome mist, Rol. 456 a. — prestes me tu mais l'ostel, por saint Piere l'apostre, Escoufle, 4954. — Ja par la foi que doi saint Pere Ne vous creanrai de cest afeire, R Cham.

[1] R Cham. 1776; Escoufle, 4954; Ren. IX, 1212; Fabl III, 246; ib. V, 57, 153; Mir. NS. XXXI, 230; Th. Sc. v. la Ren. 90, 212.

[2] Compare: Par cel saint Piere que dieus a Rome, mist, Rol. 456? — dieus, qui le cors saint Pere mis en Pré-Mouton, Strange. 810. — dey --- Mes saint Pierre au chief de Pré-Mouton, Am. u. Am. 1177.

[3] Hoon. 123; Fier. 453; R Cambr. 3764; Il m. u. Ne. 750, 876; Aiol. [illegible]

3403.– Mins jure foi qu'il dort saint Pere
qu'il enqiqrena son compere, Ren. XI, 83. –
Mais, par saint Pere, se je dor avec, Ne
ferai porte ne guichet desfermer, Disc. 1656.–
Ormendroit! fet l'escuyre, frere, Plus de
quinzaine a, par saint Pere, Norm. 1656–
Sire, fait Robins, par saint Pere, Y mar
de ces vers douteus, Fabl. II, 85. – J'irai,
par saint Pere, Bien tost après, Mir. Fr. XI,
092. – Ou, par icel apostre c'on quiert en
Mouton pré, Je t'irai ja ferir, Ren. 453. –
Par cel apostre c'on quiert en pré Mouton,
N'en partiroie hors a cel d'Avalon, Flamenca 3964.

St. Prix sporadic):

Biau sire Dieus, dist Yvenaus, Par
saint Pol, A nul mins tous cuites sans
estui, Gyot. T. 80. – Tot droit a Nuaus
l'emmena, par saint Prin, Lyon,
10524 (Z.).

St. Prix, by the name Prust, is invoked several times in the 19th of the pieces of the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages in utterances of Judge Etienne.[1]

St. Quenet (very rare):

Ventre sainct Quenet, Rab. I, 20, 34c.[2]

St. Raynaud (one example):

Par la foi que doi saint Renaut, l'os dites voir, Ren. XIV, 359.

St. Remi:

Occasional examples are met at all periods; the oath is especially frequent, however, in the thirteenth century and in chansons de geste of the fourteenth.

Sire, par saint Remy, Nous avons mout

[1] 28, 246, 321. [2] Also possibly: par la dive Oye quenet, Rab. II, 46.

See Oaths in Rabelais, Lecestre, Paris, 1892. Des Longlois.

pendu pres que vous trouvez en Cap. 1865. - Par saint Remi, mot-vos dort ennuier, Aym. Narb. 3431. - Que l'on doit bien, par saint Remi, rendre à bien donde son ami, Fabl. III, 37. - Sire, il me plaist, par saint Remy, Mus. Mk. XV, 758. - Non, par saincte Remy, Th. frç. ad. la Ren. 168.

St. Riquier:

The occurrences of the invocation of this saint are confined to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They are particularly frequent in the poem of Raoul de Cambrai. We find that the worship of St. Riquier is most pronounced

Found. Bl. 834; Ki Nerb. 3048; Aub. 3, 54, 67, 200; Aub. 10; Froiss. 601; Fabl. I, 19; Mus. Mk II, 430; Th. frç. ad. la Ren. 15; etc. 1081, 1359, 1737, 2018, 2550, 3755; always in the form par (sour) le corps saint Riquier. See Bédier, Lég.

in the terre toxy surnom dun of the abbey of St. Riquier mean abbéorite.

Dou ciel n'a cort, par saint Richier,
Que je n'osasse afichier, Ren. Va, 809.—
Dites vos voir; et ci li dist: je vos
di voir, par saint Richier, Fabl. III, 278.—
Vous dites voir, par saint Richier,
Mus. M.A. XXIII, f° 20.①

St. Rigomé (oath):

Par sainct Rigomé (dist frere Jan)
Panurge mon ami douly, ie ne te con-
seille chose que ie ne feisse, Rab. II,
133.②

St. Roenau (one example):

I'cus ficrez vos la dent seint Roenau
le rechigniz, Bu' Yzengrin n'aveit en-

① See Kinglois. ② Also ib. ib. 406.

guignie, Ren. V a, 1126.
Probably a burlesque invocation of Roenel, the dog.

St. Romade (sporadic in thirteenth):
Most of the examples are from Gautier de Coincy.[1]
de tiex comers, par saint Romade, Qui ont conte veut
un miracle .. les nes en vont fronchant, Q Coinc. 662.[2]

St. Rufin (one example):
par saint Rufin, Ä la guerre ne fust-il pas a
fin, Mus. MS. XXIII, 508.

St. Samson (one example):
Aussi esse, par saint Sanson, A. N. fr. II, 173.[3]

St. Séverin (one example)
Ä g ferai ge dolant, par saint Severin, Q. of d. 3610.[4]

[1] 553, 611, 662; always in nine-note miracle. [2] Also: Rom. XXII, 601. [3] Also: Aub. 234; Ren. de Montauban, 19 (V.). [4] Chron. au Cygne (H.), II, 144 (V.) Aub. 82, 120, 124.

St. Siccaut (one example):

Aucun connoe par saint Siccaut, a eu de dieu mout petit chaut ute., Gloria 2. 270.[1]

St. Silvestre (very rare):

Par la foi que doi saint Silvestre, Mout a en vos bon archevestre, Ren. XI, 2069.[2]

St. Siméon (one example):

en jure le corps saint Symeon, Mant. 864,

St. Simon (sporadic):

Sire, foi que doi saint Simon, Vos en aves mout bien parlé, Ren. XI, 2694. - Jo ferai ja ixié, par saint Simon, Li Norb. 971. - Chevalier, par saint Simon, N'ai cure de compaignon, Th. fre. au m.a. 44. - Je n'y vay pas, par sainct Simon, Th. fre. au la Ren. 377.[3]

[1] Also: Mainet, III, 27 (K.). [2] Also: Chron. au Cygne (H.), I, 251 (K.). [3] Also: Gayd. 1630, 2295, 3945; Aiol, 2100; Ren. XI, 1272; Fabl. II, 17[illegible]

St. Siobé (one example):

A Gascon: Ho sainct Siobé, cap de Gascogne, Rab. II, 202.

Ste. Sophie (one example):

St. Sulpice (one example):

Par saint Soupplisse de Pierrefonz, Gloss.

St. Thibaut (sporadic):

dist Fernans: Sire, par le cors saint Thibaut, je vog otroi que me pendez, Gayd. 5725. — Par monsieur sainct Thibault l'apostre, Contre vous deulx auray debat, R.F. M.S.-J. II, 4, 45. ①

St. Thomas (occasional in thirteenth):

Veine? sire, dit Belin, Par saint Tomas le bon martir, J'en voudroie mon ventre enplir, Ren. XIII,

① Also: Mauges, 7275 (L.); Mir. N.D. XIX, 164; ib. XVIII 194; Rabelais

1822. – Mais, par le cors au baron saint Thomas!
Mais certainement ti baron de Baudas, disc. 4220. –
Non sont, sire, par saint Thomas, Fabl. III, 63.[1]

Ste. Tiècle (one example);
Mout volentiers, par sainte Tiecle, Se vergoingne
n'avoit du siecle, Coins. 570.

St. Treignan (= Eugnan[2]) (very rare):
Par sainct Treignan (dist Gymnaste) ce procès doibt
estre soubscript sus ce bureau, Rab. II, 300.[3]

St. Valery (one example):
Hé, sainct Valery, qu'ceste-cy? A. Th.
Fr. I, 317.

St. Valère (one example):

[1] See Langlois. Also: Fabl. II, 179. [2] Rab. III, 240, IV, 197. Rab. I, 241; Cf. Rab. I, 278

Et je vous fiue saint Valier, Fabl. II, 67.

St. Venant (one example):

par saint Venant, Escoutez, Mus. Mk. II, 424.

St. Vincent (confined to thirteenth and fourteenth):

Et dest la dame: Krois est, par saint Vincent, RLambr. 7509. - Par mon ordre de saint Vincent, Fabl. V, 119. - foi que doi al vrai corps saint Vincent, HBord. 1208.©

St. Vot (one example):

Mais mout volantiers, par saint Vot, Fabl. IV, 160.

St. Yvautre (one example):

Par saint-Yvautre... Se vous n'alés ete., Ogier, 413, (L.).

St. Yves (one example):

jura saint Yves, Mich. et Roy., Berte, du Guesc., ch. XXX.

©HBord. 1294; Berte, 1222 (L.); Mise. 5751; Enf. Ogier, 7610 etc. See Lang.

IV. Miscellaneous personages, objects of Christian worship.

Mary Magdalen.

The Magdalen's name is only found in oaths, in a few rare examples:

Mais, par la Magdalène, je vei, P. Sebourg, II, 115 (V. 1--

Par la digne Madalaine, Coste aultre sy n'a plus d'alaine, K. T. M. S-J. IV, 11, 20.—

Par saincte Madeleine, Mon serment, illust deigalas, K. T. M. S-J. II, 12, 22.

Mary, the Egyptian.

Only one example is known to me of the invocation of ST Mary[1]:

Par Marie d'Egyptienne! C'il puet estre chiez prouvez, Rutebeuf. II, 82.

[1] We may possibly have another example in: Par ceste Pucelle Vierge tasse, Si j'eusse ayde, je vous ly rasse, Mistere du Vieil Testament, 100 (Farce de Pathelin); ibid. 102.

P 5/20 (1).

Only two examples found.

Par les saints couillons du Pape, dit frère Jean, voyla un beau danseur, Rab. II, 2 o. - ajuré saint Vincaire, d. Carth. 1794.

Abbot (one example).

toi que doi mon seigneur t'abé, Jet cil, ut l'ordre dont je sui, dirie ne li ust. son votre amie, Fabl. I, 155.

Compare also:

Par la foi que je doi Bernart t'ancepne-tre que je voi ta, Ren. XVII, 1270. - Foi que je doi frere Thubert, éd. XVII, 701.

(1) See above, p. 236, for articles in Saint [illegible]

5. Abstractions and material objects relating to the passion of Christ.

The majority of these objects of invocation occur rarely in oaths. Les bleus and la croix alone furnish fixed oath-forms of frequent occurrence. Except for the single formula par sainte croix,[1] this type of oath is not found in religious literature, and seems characteristic of existing of a popular and frivolous nature. Its ~~syntactic function is exceptionally simple~~.

a. Abstractions.

Les angoisses (sa ~~croix~~):

Malis, par les angoisses dé! Ami es-tu, qui m'as affronté?, Fabl. IV, 188. — Vous vuidez de ma maison, Par les angoisses dieu,

[1] See below, p. 242.

moy dasse, Thu [illegible] av. 4a Ken. 77. [1]

t'escourgie (one example):
Mentioned by Deschamps, vol. I, 273.

les fièvres (one example):
Par les fievres dieu, je vos dien Que nous sommes Trestous Trouvez, R.g.S. II, 191.

les pas (one example):
Mentioned by Deschamps, vol. I, 274.

la passion (one example):
Par la Passion dieu, mes fis Ta pel, ou tu le comparras, Fabl. III, 350.

les plaies:
Specific examples of this are independ-

[1] Also: Hist. av. Ta Ken. 102; Just. Deschamps I, 272 [illegible]

dent employment are not numerous, but the frequent mention of it alongwith other oaths showsit Have been in common use at the periods[1]

Par les yeux bleu, ie te turay, R.F.M.S.-F. II, 1716. - Les yeux bleu! Qu'est-ce que s'allagne, Pug. ad. ta Kim. 02.

Material Objects.

les cheveux (one example):

Mentioned by Deschamps, Oct. I, 273 and by Du Cange[2].

la coiffe (very rare):

par la Chaire Dieu! - encore en prenons-nous, Journ. 242. - par la coiffe Dieu, Tch. et Bl., Suchier, 205[3].

la croix:

An oath ad crucem or sup[er] la crucem is fre-

[1] Gloins. 020; Fabl. III, 123; Eust. Desch. I, 272; Julian, s.v. "Juramentum."
[2] s.v. "Juramentum." [3] See Tobler, p. 60 and Suchier, Œuvres de Beaumanoir, II, 415.

frently mentioned as a religious and legal process of justice in the middle ages.[1] In a capitulary of Charlemagne (ann. 779) such an oath is employed in a special rite for the investigation of perjury.[2] In French literature examples of invocations of the cross appear throughout the period under examination. Whereas the official oath sur or supra crucem adds to its attestation to the form of the cross erected in the church where the oath was taken, the oath-forms in French with their equivalents[3] seem to invoke directly the cross of Christ.

Before the end of the fourteenth century

[1] See du Cange, s. v. "Juramentum". [2] See: Bouquet, Rec. des Hist. des Gaules, ed. V, p. 647, also Fredegar, p. 1.
[3] par sainte croiz de Valenton, Mir. Nd. XXXVI, 200; par cest croiz, A. Th. fr. II, 70. For late examples such as par la croiz que voi là, A. Th. fr. VII, 8, see Godefroy, ff. 11

examples occur occasionally,[1] in the Miracles de Nostre-dame par personnages they occur commonly;[2] in the fifteenth and sixteenth, occurrences are frequent in the coarser ~~pieces of the~~ drama.[3]

The form of the invocation varies greatly. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, no fixed formulas are found. Made notice of the following forms: - par sainte croix,[4] - par la croy,[5] par la sainte croise de lé,[6] par cele crois en li cors deu fu mis[7] and par la crois au Sauveor.[8]

[1] Jeu St. Nicholas, 4. fr. au m.a. 177; Exc, 1819; Ren. Va, 479; Li Nero. 5291; Cor. Lo. 1474, 2585; Fabl. IV, 52, [2] II, 654; IV, 139, 601; IX, 129; XVI, 244; XXIX, 82; XXXI, 776; XXXVI, 200. [3] 4. fr. au. la Ren. 107, 1560, 160, 164; R. y. S. II, 34, 83; R. 7 MS-F. I, 22, 1; ib. I, 12, 19; ib. IV, 7, 9; etc. [4] 4. fr. au m. a. 177. [5] Exc, 1819. [6] Ren. Va, 479. [7] Cor. Lo. 1474. [8] Fabl. IV, 152

In the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages the invocation is usually par sainte croix; par saincte croys de Jalem[1] and by que je doy sainte croys[2] ecce ancilla. The drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries generally employ the form (par)(la) croix (dieu)[3]; par sainte croys;[4] par la croix, par la croix ou dieu d'estan,[5] and par la grant croix de bieu[6] are each found in one example.

The function of the oath, whether employed in serious or frivolous context, is noticeably emphatic, as can be judged from the following examples.

[1] XXXVI, 129; see above, p. . [2] IX, 129. [3] H. pr. ac. la Ren. 130, 104; R.F.M.S. J. I, 12, 7; ib. I, 22, 1; ib. III, 45, 6; ib. IV, 2, 9; A.H. pr. I, 17; ib. II, 27, 23; R.G.S. II, 33; Rec. de Farces, 142. [4] R.F.M.S. J. II, 4, 32. [5] H. pr. ac. la Ren. 160. [6] H. pr. ac. la Ren. 107. R.

Par cele croiz o l'eau fu penè, Se ne me rans
jubelin an sante, Ta sera mort le neveu
t'amiré, Li Nerb. 5291. — Mais, par la croiz
que requierent Salmuin, Ainceis le vespre
ne le soleil colchié, Iert ge ma chan de la toe
vengiez, Con. Le. 2585. — Que tot que je doi
sainte croiz, S'en avant de cy vous y truys,
de male mort vous destruys, Mir. Nº. IX, 29. —
Nee 'draperie' to 'Maistre Pathelin': Par la croix
ou dieu s'estendy, C'est a vous a qui je vendy
Six aunes de drap, Pl. pc. ad la Ken. 107. — Ca-
grain, courroux, Ennuyt et tempeste! L'oirs,
par la grant croiz de Dieu, J'en bastray
vant muy en ce lieu, Qu'il ne pansera que a
mourir, K.Y.S. II, 34.

le sueire (one ex ample):
Mentovica le [illegible], [illegible].

le temple où dieu fut offert (one example):

Par le temple ou dey fu offerg, ieceut-procoire
wont tuit fot, Ren. VII, 324.

le sepulcre (very rare):

Par le sepulcre ou Jhesu fu conclicé, Ja vostre drois
n'en sera bailiés, R Cambr. 4017. — Par saint Sepulcre,
il n'ira mie ainsi, par. Tr. I, 8.

6. Miscellaneous Religious Abstractions[1].

This type of oath is especially frequent in the
twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During
the fifteenth and sixteenth its use is largely con-
fined to the popular drama and Rabelais and
seen in these texts only la fête (see p.), la
Pâque (p.) and le sacrement (p.) are invoked
more than sporadically. The oath is com-

[1] For Abstractions relating to the Passion of Christ, see above, 240.

ployed in profane and religious literature, in freedoms and sermons functions; the different forms vary in ~~the strength of~~ their emphasizing power.

Ave Maria (very rare):

Foi que doi Ave Maria, Mes je cuit qu'autre chose i a, Rutteb. I, 127.[1]

baptême (very rare):

Vous jurez .. Par le bateseme que reçustes ... Avant vous fustes crestien fait Que vous aoez veu le, Thtre. au m. a. 244.[2]

baptestire (one example):

Or me di, crestiens, par le toi baptistere, Elie ~~de St G.~~ 919.

[1] Also: ii. I, 8. [2] Also: Viii. 13.

Bible (one example)[1]:

-par l'evangile de la Bible, R. 7. M. S. R. II, f. 26.

ciel (one example):

Rhadamantus: Si tu dis vray, je te jure
et promets, Par le haut ciel ou je n'iray
jamais, Que des enfers sortiras les treces,
(Mar. I, 81.

Chrétienté:

Except for one occurrence in the Miracles
de Notre-Dame par personnages[2] invocations
of this abstraction are confined to the chan-
sons de geste, in which I have found eight
examples. The invocation is directed either
to sainte Chretiente[3] or ma(ta, votre) Chré-
tienté.[4]

[1] See also below, s.v. Saintes Paroles. [2] XXIX, 2271. [3] Bour.
178, 1492. [4] Koon, 115; Cap. 1380; Gayd 33.4, 697; Alexis, 6965; Bour. 304

par la foi que je doi saincte crestienté, 94 et tous ses liniages sera sens traduté, G Bourg. 178. – Et par vostre crestienté, dites m'en-pure verité, Mir. III 4. XXIV, 227/1.

fête (rare):

Mais foy, ne doy-testes ni veilles, Cmpres. ne veg tes. mores d'eulx, l'ib. – Par la Teste-dieu! je cuidoye, Th. fre. au. la Ren. 99. –

The oath Teste-dieu Bayard[1] owes its form apparently to a legend which reports that the oath oath Teste-dieu! was a favourite utterance of the Chevalier Bayard.[2]

jour!:

par le sainct jour dieu, Th. fre. au. la Ren. 153. – Celluy curé jura par la journée qui estoit la jour de l'ascension, du Cange s. v. 1. "Juramentum."

[1] Rab. I, 145; ib. II, 308. [2] See

Lit. remiss. ann. 1383. in Reg. 124. Ch. 305. - par le jour d'hui, a. 1374.

From the above examples we are led to see that such oath-forms as par le bon jour;[1] par le bon jour d'huy,[2] vainct jour d'huy.[3] and par le jour, vi huyct[4] should be classed here as invocations of the sanctity of religious festivals.

ca Litanie (one example):

Mentioned by Roquefort, Gl. IV, 8[illegible].

ordre (sporadic):

Par l'ordre dieu, found three times in the fabliaux[5] as the only form of this invocation to occur in more than single instances.

[1] Lit. rem. ann. 1383. in Reg. 124. Ch. 305; [2] Fabl. I, 162, [3] d. Hist. II, 70, [4] d. Hist. 4, 7, [5] Fabl. ed. Le Roux. 252. [5] Fabl. I, 134, 186; II, 123

Par l'ordre dé, Ch., m'aez-vous veroi agré, Fabl. I 180. – Ch., par l'ordre des Mathelins, Telle jeunesse n'est pas folle, Viel. 53. – par mon ordre de saint Vincent, Fabl. IV 119. – jurer son ordre, Li Nerb. 2664. – par nostre ordre, Rom. 13340.

papemanie (one example):
A burlesque formation on pape.
Affamant et jurant par sa part de Papimanie, qu'il avoit a heure presente veu tous les diables deschainez, Rab. II, 306.

la pâque (very rare):
Par la pasque dieu, non sera, Hist. av. la Ren. 127.
(par la): Par la dieu was according to tradition a favourite oath of Louis XI.[1]

[1] See Zöckler, p. 22.

dais usuel simultanément l'autel (Les Rameaux de palme = Palm Sunday).

patenôtre:

Confined largely[2] to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; its occurrence is sporadic.

Et par la sainte Paternostre.. S'enor et vostre volenté Borgnis, ch. lyon, 3653.
Toi que doi sainte Paternostre, fait il, - bles, ainsi m'isa mie, Ren. XVI, 1268. - douce, par sainte Paternostre, Quand qu'il a ce est tout vostre, Fabl. III, 83.
Toy que je doy la paternostre, Et je me vueil yey jesir, Mir. Nd. III, 194.[3]

sacrement:

[1] I, 287-288; III, 58. [2] A. Pk. - [illegible]. I, 244. [3] Use. Fab. II, 117; ib. III, 210, 241.

Examples are confined to the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages and the drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The usual form is par le sacrement de l'autel;[1] this is the only form in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages. In the drama of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries par, mon sacrement,[2] par le saint sacrement,[3] le sacrement dieu![4] and par le sacrement de la messe[5] occur sporadically.

Assez tost tout aise vous ez, Par le sacrement de l'autel, Mir. NS. XXXI, 1123. — Par le sacrement de l'autel, dans ces ser...

[1] Mir. NS. II, 574; ib. III, 350; ib. XXXI, 1123; Rec. de Farces, 94; A. Th. fr. II, 332; Th. fr. av. la Ren. 179. [2] Th. fr. av. la Ren. 106, 237. [3] Th. fr. av. la Ren. 99. [4] Rec. de Farces, 105. [5] A. Th. fr. I, 233; ib. III, 20.

, ne veult faillir, Ren. le Tanneo, 99. – Je cuyde, par mon sacrement, qu'ilz ont reconguen mon visage, Mir. frç. ap. La Ren. 239.

saincte charité:

Continued to the Renart[1] and the chansons de geste[2]. Except for one example of par monde saincte charité,[3] the form is par (pour) saincte charité.

Nonci, voir, par saincte charité, Chambr. 8005. – Merci, guillelmes, par saincte charité, Cor. Lo. 1894. – Sire, par saincte charité, l'os m'estes pas bien aseré, Ren. XIII, 1747.

saint Esperit

9 have found this oath only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with especially frequency

[1] Ren. II, 5447; ib. III, 242; ib. XIII, 1748. [2] Chambr. 3775, 5296, 8005; Mir. 8097; Cor. Lo. 1894; Am. u. Am. 2750. [3] [illegible]

un tiers fabliaux. Tiré form et invocation variées qu'elle.

Seignor, issez, en mon saint-Esprit, par. Fabl. I, 105. — par le cors saint Espir, doon, 3424. — Dieus, stis vemes seur mon cors Cesar, foi que doi saint Espir, Fabl. III, 200. — Adieu ce, par le saint Esprit, Fabl. V, 230. — Ce par le saint Espir, ib. V, 72.①

sainte Foi (isolés):

Et dit: Renart, par sainte foi, Je voz ain mout, Ren. XI, 205. — Et vous, foy que doy sainte Foiz .. je vous feray pendre, Mir. Nd. XXIX, 2085.②

saintes paroles (avec exemple):

Par les saintez paroles qui sunt cui en present, M'ai de mot menti, Fabl. 108.

① Sen Langfois; Fabl. III, 26; ib. IV, 118. ② Voir Ph. Le. ...

Signe de Compiègne (one example):

Found in a fabliau of the thirteenth century from the territory of Pontieu.

Par le saint Signe de Compiègne, dans, fet il, vos m'i tout, Fabl. III, 242.

Trinité:

The majority of my examples are from the Miracles de Notre-Dame-par-personnages;[1] elsewhere occurrences of the oath are sporadic.[2] The Trinity is generally invoked by the appelation sainte Trinité; la Trinité,[3] grande Trinité[4] and benoiste Trinité[5] also occur in oaths.

Sire, dist le vallet, par sainte Trinité,

[1] II, 241; VI, 589; VIII, 22; XVI, 1214; XXIII, 1837; XXXI, 522. [2] Cange 5, 807, 7323; Ramb. 2; Rutib. II, 17; Fabl. II, 117. [3] Mir. NDP. VII, 77; ib. XXIII, 1824; ib XXXI, 522. [4] Cange 5, 80. [5] Mir. NDP. [illegible]

la terre mit wagner dan l. XX. ans [illegible], jusqu'à 323. — ciel, par sainte Trinité, Jac II. 117. — Dieu, de par la Trinité, Leg. Rom ci, Mir. Ms. VII, 22.

vertu[1]

Mêmes termes de dénomination et même abstraction avec: par la vertu du ciel, found only in the chanson, par la vertu nommée, found only in the chanson de geste[2] and par la vertu souveraine, occurring in a single example from the fifteenth century.[3]

Avec l'idée en poursuite, par la vertu dou ciel, Je veuz avoir tous les membres trenchiez, found. Bl. 301. — Dieu, nos ames, par la vertu nommée, Aye, 3884.

[1] See above l'vertu de Dieu, p. VIII fg. [2] Bourg. 204; Par. duch. 2443; found. Bl. 309, 1864. [3] Aye, 3884; Cath. 1313. [illegible]

7. Miscellaneous Holy Material Objects.

There are here included a few so-called oath-forms, none of which were clearly fixed formulas in common use.

The invocation of the clerical robe[2] is found sporadically. Friar John in Rabelais makes use of the forms par le (signe sacré) sac (habit) que je porte[3] and par l'estuy sac![4]. Par nostre chape ici is found in the allegiances of the Abbé de St Denis in Li Nerbonnais[5].

The invocation of a holy place is found in the following examples:

[1] For Holy Material Objects relating to the Passion of Christ, see above, p[p]; for invocations of relics, see p[p]. and under names of individual saints; for invocations of the Saint Sang, see under Sang de dieu, p[p] 145[f]. [2] DuCange, s.v. Juramentum' cites the official oath per stolam. [3] I, 103, II, 305, 356, 399. [4] III, 58. [5] 2695.

Mes s'il veoit vostre accl, foi que je doi ausnt
Tirnac, lors sai je bien qu'il vendroit, Pen. I,
938.— Par sainte Spire de Corbueil, frère, mouult
voulentiers je vois, Mem Mr. XVIII, 1005.[1] — Qui a
juré ... monstiers Dieu pour ung moyne
ne faudra le convent, R. P. T. X, 211.—
Mots absents de l'exemple
Par le digne veu de Chartres (a statue[2]), le
moindre de ces moutons vaudroit. Rab. II, 294.

[1] Ajouter. XXIII, 152. [2] Rabelais est Tourangeau.

10. The devil, diable.[1]

All the invoking the devil are comparatively rare before the fifteenth century; de par le diable occurs once in the fabliaux[2], once in the Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages[3] and once in the Sept Sages[4]; an example of par diables is quoted by Tobler (p. 44)[5]; de mon dé vif malfé occurs once[6]. In the popular writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the invocation of the devil becomes frequent (once in 4000 lines for the drama) in the form de par le diable[7] and the strengthened forms — de grand diable[8], — de petit diable[9], — tout dia-

[1] Sometimes exclamatory invocations such as diable!, comment diable! etc, which are common in Old French, see: par. Lot. I, 146, 274; ibid, 12; Aym. Mart. 3554; Lot. II, 133, 181; etc. [2] II, 250. [3] XIII, 673, [4] 20. [5] Octavian, afz. Bibl. III, 1883, v. 295 f. [6] Alisc. 7723 b. [7] Lex. de Farces, 27, 141; R. g. S. I, 217; ib. II, 94, 188, 194; Th. frç. au tx. s. 107, 153, 185; R. d. M. d. J. I, 7, [illegible]. [8] R. d. M. S. d. J. III, 13, 8. [9] Lac. I, 50,

etc[1], -tous les diables[2], -tous les grands diables[3], -trente millions de diables[4], -cinq milliard, mille millions de charrettes de diables[5], etc. This form of the intensive fragment in Rabelais with the utterances of Friar John and Panurge[6] differs from forms of invocation, viz. par diable[7] and -par le diable[8], are sporadic.

The syntactic function of de par le diable etc is the same as that of de par dieu![9] This genus employed interjectionally; it not usually an utterance it is generally adjunctive.

Ouais, de par le diable, oa.; K. Y. S. I, 217.—
Et hay! de par le dyable, hay!; Th. f. & c. au 4a Ren. 153.— Allez, de par le dyable, etc. de Farces, 141.—
Escoute ung peu, de par le diable, K. Y. S. II, 84.—

[1] K. P. T. VI, 95. [2] Th. f. & c. au 4a Ren. 186; Mich. et Pon. IV, 51; K. T. M. S. I. II, 9, 13; Rab. II, 172, 341; [illegible]. [3] K. T. M. S. I. II, 3, 21. [4] Rab. I, 34. [5] Rab. II, 347. [6] I, 144, 156, 311; II, 14, 30, 79, 172, 373, 438, 464; III, 37; [illegible]. [7] Th. f. & c. III, 356; [illegible]. [8] Th. f. & c. au 4a Ren. 107. [9] See above, p. 85.

Marie toy de par le diable, Ab. II, 131. – Je ne peux, ne dasse ne demie, de par tous les diables, ib. II, 172. – Eu, par diable, c'est assez; Jeunesse, tuerais-tu le Monde?, A. H. fr. III, 356.

XV. Pagan Objects of Invocation.

Occurrences of oaths in the utterances of pagan speakers are found principally in the Chansons de geste and Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages; occasional examples occur in the Jeu St Nicholas, Gautier de Coinci, the Courtly Epic, Rabelais and the Farces. The oaths of pagan speakers naturally differ from those in usage by Christians only when a religious object is invoked. The forms of pagan oaths by religious objects display the greatest ignorance on the part of the Old French regarding the deities of pagans of different race and religion. The Mohammedans invoke Mohammed, Apolyon, Tervagant, etc.;[1] the Pagans and Danish invoke also Mohammed, Tervagant, Cahu, etc.;[2] the Hun-

[1] Ch. 660, 5051; Mich. 3746, 4213; etc. [2] Gaufrey 7262; Doon, 7203; Pagan, 7

[illegible], Mohammed, Mars, Jupiter, etc.[1]; and even Roman citizens employ invocations of Mohammed and Apolyon.[2]

Pagan invocations of their deities by the appellation dieu are found commonly in the chansons de geste, Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages and the Roman de Thèbes. The forms employed by the Mohamedans in the chansons de geste invoke dieu in the singular. The form is always dieu or a substitute (seigneur, celui, etc.) plus a relative clause.[3]

par celui qui je doi aourer, HBord. 0726. -
par cel dey a qui me sui donez, At. 123. -
par cheli segnor que ge trai a garant, Gaufr. 2698. - par celui qui j'ai mon ame vouée, Alisc. 7157. etc.

[1] Gaufr. 8095; etc. [2] Thèbes, 2215 [illegible]. [3] See above, [illegible] for Christian oaths [illegible]

The yrcan and Roman characters of the Roman de Thèbes and the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages uncode ieuy with plural[1]. The two forms (a) dieux with a qualifying possessive adjective[2] and (b) dieux plus a relative clause[3] are employed.

(a) dieux with a qualifying possessive adjective.

Found only in the Miracles.

Seignors, se Dieus vos ait, si comme, par mes diex, que me te Dieus die, Mir. N.-D. XIII, 220. - Je me veçay qu'il dit, par mez diex, ib. XXI, 452. - Se boive, moy, par tous mez diex, ib. XX, 62.[4]

(b) dieux plus a relative clause.

Found in the Miracles and the Roman de Thèbes

Par toz les Deus que nos encon, Thèbes, 2751. - par toz les Deus en cui jo crei, ib. 683. -

[1] See, however, par le Deu que j'aeun, Mir. N.-D. XXII, 1154. [2] See p. [illegible]. [3] See p. [illegible]. [4] Also: XXV, 34, 100, 436.

Seigneurs, par vos dieu que je croy, Je ne tant ces gens
crestiens, Mich. Mk. XXIV, 129.①

a. 4 individual deities involved by name.

Apolin (confusion of Apoll-o, -inem and Apollyon, Revelation IX, 11?)

Scattered occurrences are found in utterances of Mohammedans, Greeks and Romans.

Turs, pour mon dieu Apolin! Sont dont crestien en
mi vers, Jeu St. Nicholas, H. frç. au m.a. 165.- Seignor, tor-
nés bataille, por la foi Apolin, Aiol, 5057.- foy que doi
Apolin, B Bouillon, 223 (L.).- (jure) d'Apolin l'ymage, Aleth. 1258.②

Baraton (sporadic in chansons de geste):

Et Machabré respont: Par mon dieu Baraton, Ganf. 5571.
par la foi que doi nostre dieu Baraton, ib. 1883.- jure
t'vragant et Mahom, Et Apolin et son dieu baraton,
Enf. Vivien 591 (L.).③

① Also: Thèbes, 693; Mich. Mk. XX, 92; ib. XXV, 883; also. ② H. frç. au m.a. 178; Thèbes, 2218; see also Langlois. ③ Also: Mich. 4301, 4800; B Sel-mes, I, 1121 (L.); also.

Calu (sporadic in chansons de geste):

Mahomet a jus, Karaqant et Calu Doon, 1067. — Haront mal ostel, foi que je doi Calu, Gaufr. 0997. — par mes ne diu Calu, Aye, 3746.[1]

Diane (one example):

Mari, par Dyanne la belle, une mes dourons comme dessse, Mir. Not. XXII, 320.

Mahomet:

Most of the examples are from the chansons de geste. Sporadic occurrences are found in the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages,[2] the Jeu St. Nicholas[3] and Rabelais[4]. The form of invocation is usually par Mahomet or par Mahomet plus a relative clause; par Ma-

[1] Doon, 4460, 10668; Aub. 172; see also Langlois. [2] XXIV, 155. [3] 74, 76, 5 au mm.a. 166, 173. [4] I, 237, 3[illegible]

Mahonet mon dieu[1], par mon dieu Mahonet[2], par Mahonet le puissant (postif, etc)[3], foi que doi Mahonet[4], par ce saint Mahonet que[5]..., etc. are also found. The invocation of physical attributes of Mahammed occurs in Le euer, la bouche et les dens fust souvent de Mahonmet (Clom. 418) and Den Mahom (Rab. I, 287).

Par Mahonet, mais i fu oublié, alise. 7554. - Je vous me vueil tenir vaincu, Par Mahon, maistre, Mir. Nd. XXIV, 153. - Paillars de plat pays, Par Mahom, - - - ie vous feray mourir, Rab. I, 357. - Pour Mahon, comment va?, B Bouillon, 1163 (A). - par icel Mahom qui tout a a bailler, Elie, 1747. - Par Mahonet que l'en adore et croie, Di Mab. 3746. - Par Mahonet a qui m'an [illegible]

[1] Prise de Cordres, 674; Mir. Nd. XXXV, 1531. [2] Huon. au m.a. 173; etc. [3] Jourd. 1112; R Cambr. 7928. [4] [illegible]

Malagwin (rare):

foi que doi Malagwin, Doon, 7537.

Pilate (one example):

Puis ta mi pri lei Pilate si mal vengé faite venale
Tels guerre cors ti facia, Resurrection, Mitte. au m.a. 17.

Platon (very rare):

furent... Paton, Clarte. 757 and 7571.

Pluton (one example):

Mais par Pluton, le deu que dox nommes, Mourir
de faim me scaumons, CMar. I, 51.

Tervagant (common in the chansons de geste):

Que se el vous eschape, foi que doi Tervagant, Mou-
renois, Aufr. 6746. - por Tervagant, Yssoire, Mauger, 3258 (2).
Par mon dieu Tervagant, Doon. 7502. - etc.

[1] See Langlois. [2] Doon, 10567 [illegible]

6. Objects of Pagan Worship.
Examples of this form of oath are very rare.
Parmeo Aidæo et Panmatori, N. an Exemplar
antiquo Foederi, Tabulæ, 4248.
Compare also per Styga, Carus de Styge and
Carus d'Acheron.

① Rev. III, 50, (Pepperrinaud & the Chats-fourrés). ② Rab. II, 25 (Je-
fferies). ③ Rab. II, 25 (Gaffarel).

II. Objects of invocation pertaining to the speaker, the person addressed or the person referred to.

The body of oaths included under this and the preceding division of religious oaths. The number of forms is, however, much smaller than for the preceding, as at least one half of the examples of invocations of objects of personal reverence invoke either the soul or the faith of the speaker, of the person addressed or of the person referred. As a rule the personal oath is more emphatic than the religious, some of its forms, such as par foi, par ma vérité being rather adverbial phrases than invocations in asseveration or adjuration. The invocation of of religious objects, at the same time that it affords a supernatural sanction to prove the truth of an utterance, gains added emphasis from the fact that the employment of

sacrilegious, punishable by law as well as forbidden by doctrine. The force of the personal oath lies in the indirect imprecation, as in par mon chef, or else, like the religious oath, to the attestation of some revered attribute, or person. However, the added emphasis of sacrilege, as par (mon) ame, par ma virginité. We have an illustration of this comparative lack of association emphasis in the personal oath in the fact that a number of its forms occur not merely in ~~highly~~ religious context but in the utterances of members of the clergy of the highest rank.©

The invocation of the person itself of the speaker himself is found, but very rarely. Only two examples are known to me:

Car, de par moy, vous demourrez, Roc. de Thes.,

© See Adams pp. 230, 235.

34 and 39.

It has been found advisable to divide invocations of objects appertaining to the speaker etc. into three divisions: A. Abstract attributes, B. Material attributes and C. Localities bearing a relation of some sort to the speaker, the person addressed or the person referred to.

I. Abstract attributes.

anc:

Frequent mention is found of the employment of oaths by the soul for official purposes.[1] The oath is customarily employed by ambassadors, who transmit the faith of their lords by means of an oath in sua anima.[2]

[1] See duCange, s. v. "Juramentum". [2] Compare: Et etiam haec omnia .. juravi fussimus in animam Nostram per nobilem virum Rumerium., Charta, Jacobi Reg. Majoric. ann. 1204 (quoted from duCange).

The forms for the invocation of the soul are very numerous. For the most part their accentuative or adjurative value is very slight. They occur not only in polite profane literature, but are furthermore common in religious literature and in utterances of the high clergy.[1]

par mon (m') âme; par vostre (t', ton) âme: during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries par m'âme is found only in the Courtly Epic,[2] the Fabliaux[3] and Gautier le Coinci[4] and in one case in the Renart.[5] The oaths

[1] Mir. Not. II, 386 (bishop); ib. X, 657 (king); ib. XVI, 1250 (pope); ib. ib. 494 (cardinal); etc. [2] Charroi, 575; Ren. 1057; Ch. Mus. 1300, 2802, 470; Escanglo, 4283. [3] II, 8, 110, 194; III, 50, 279; IV, 45; V, 116, 157; VI, 3, 142. [4] 121, 227, 298, 427, 500, 605,

distinctive of the locality where it is, with the exception of par foi, the oath most frequently employed. Occurrences of the oath are frequent in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages (once in 1000 lines). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it occurs in the forms par mon ame and mon ame! as often as once in 1200 lines in the drama, and is also common in poetry and prose.[1]

The adjuration form par vostre (ton, t') ame is found only in Gautier de Coincy[2] and the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages.[3]

Desdaing, sire? Non fay, par mon ame!

[1] Chans. du XV^e S. 66; R. P. 7. IX, 159, 226; ib. XI, 23; C^te Mar. I, 31; ib. II, 10; ib. II, 145, 411; Reb. I, 24, 71; ib. II, 181, 454; etc.

[2] I, 1. XXVI, 569; XXIX, 2231; XXVIII, 742; XXXI, 1097; 2339, 2763; XXXIV, 275; XXXVII, [illegible].

Ch. Lyon, 5745. — Bien soiez [illegible] venus, par m'ame, Mus. 3782. — Je cuit mout bien, fait il, par m'ame, Que de biauté n'est sa pareille, Escoufle, 4283. — A dire ne vous sai, par m'ame, Qui ta trouva ne dont il vint, Clom. 505. — Diz me tu voir? Si, par m'ame, Fabl. XL, 142. — Sire Asne, vous tenriez, par m'ame, Qui voie courant, Mus MS. XXVII, 773. — Par m'ame, je ne sçay comment Elle amendera ce deffault, ib. XVI, 494. — Par mon ame, mon amy doulx, Vous luy avez trop fait d'honneur, Mist. I, 347. — Par mon ame, je n'en sçay rien, R.G.S. II, 150. — Di moi, par t'ame, Cest ymage de qui est ele?, Clom. 24. — En savez vous riens, par vostre ame?, Mus MS. XXVI, 569. — Françoise, aidiez moy, par vostre ame, a la conclusion, ib. XXVII, 436. — Mon ame, il s'est bien absenté. Que luy avez-vous prescrit? Mon ame, rien.

Th. fre. ac. ta Ren. 332.— ~ ii grés mon ame, ib. 3[illegible]

sur mon ~~(an)~~ âme:

Sur mon âme appears as early as Jautier de Coinci[1] as an adverbial phrase qualifying verbs such as jurer, creanter, etc. Its employment as a true asseveration begins first at the end of the fourteenth century.[2] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the oath becomes very common in the form sur mon âme. In Rabelais and the drama sur mon âme is about one fourth as frequent as par mon âme, wherefore the two oath-forms display the same frequency of occurrence approximately.

Seur dieu vous creant et seur m'ame etc.

[1] Coinci. 213. [2] Enst. Kesch. I, 170; Mir. Nd. II, 1081. [3] Rond. LXXXVII; Chans. du XV^es. 19; K. P. T. X, 214; ib. XIII, 34; Mich. et Roy IX, [illegible]

Poirs, 213.– Noah: Sur mon ame, voecy bon Moust, Mist I, 248. – J'euz a t'eure, sur mon ame, Le cueur plus fier qu'un lyon, Chans. du XV^e S. 19. – Ce me feray je, sur mon ame, Rec. de farces, 40. – Que veut-il avoir? Sur mon ame, Mal temps en chascun saison, ib. 115. – Quant luy respondis: Sur mon ame, Que j'enestoye tres bien contente, R.F. M.S.-J. I, 22, 7.

par (sur[1]) l'âme de moi (toi):

found sporadically at all periods.

Si feras par t'ame de toi, Ren. XI, 1254. – Ce me di par t'ame de toi, Se blesche t'a, ib XIV, 833. – Biaux seigneurs, par t'ame de my, Je vous aideray voulentiers, Mir. Nd. III, 322. – Par t'ame de moy, mon fera, Th. frç. av. la Ren. 343.[2]

[1] Mir. Nd. XXVI, 742. [2] Also: Ren XI, 802; Mir. Nd XIX, 624; Th. frç. av. la Ren. 342.

foi que (je) dois m'âme :

The oath is very frequent in Gautier de Coincy[1] and is commonly employed in the *Miracles de Nostre-Dame-par-personnages*[2]. It is surprising that no example of an adjuration oath by the soul in the form *foi que (tu) dois ton âme* (or *foi que dois*) *voisine* (or *foi que*) *âme* should have been found. The fact that *foi que dois à mon âme*, except for one example[3], occurs only in religious literature, gives the oath a distinctly religious character. In Gautier de Coincy, at least, the special frequency of its occurrence may possibly be due to the fact that it furnishes an easy rime with *Dame*, employed to refer to the Virgin; in seven out of nine examples this is the case.

[1] 155, 228, 252, 314, 543, 608, 609, 610, 681. [2] V, 51; XI, 355; XV, 230; XXIX, 1417; XXXI, 1267.

[3] Fabl. I, 252.

C'engres puis n'oi, foi que doi m'ame, Conte de Mon ne de rien née, Clovis. 610.- Ge commencai ci ta retraite, Que tous suitas, foi que doi m'ame, Chant 2e si dite de Nostre Dame, ib. 681.- Ne doubtez que bien mesmes fais, foy que doy m'ame, Mus. Mss. XXXI, 1267.

par cette âme:

Occurrences of this invocation are observed at all periods, but with special frequency in the eleventh & the fourteenth century. It also reminds an exceptional number & examples in the poem L'Escoufle.

Dites li bien que, par cest ame, Je t'ain plus que l'empereris, Escoufle, 1026- Qu'ainc fui, n'i, par cest ame, de lui nulle plus preude femme, Mus. Mss. XXXI, 2468.- Par cest ame! je vos et plevis

Ensemble, Th. frç. ad. ta Ren. 101.[1]

Formulas for the invocation of the soul of the speaker, etc., other than the a-qui-ex, are not numerous. The following examples have been noted:

par l'ame qui en moy repose, Th. frç. ad. ta Ren. 96.[2] – par l'ame où ti corps me repose, Th. frç. au m. a. 79. – par l'ame qui au corps me bat, R. P. F. IX, 235. – par la peine de m'ame, Fabl. II, 117.[3]

The invocation of the soul of a person dear to the speaker etc.[4] is a form of oath appearing with moderate frequency in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two forms of this oath appear.

[1] Also: Ren. II, 1315; Escoufle, 3159, 8186; Mir. Nd. XII, 25; ib. XXIII, 890; ib. XXXV, 364; Th. frç. ad. ta Ren. 92.
[2] Again: R. ti M. – , 4, 25. [3] Again: Th. frç. ad. ta Ren. 94. [4] See p. 824 f.

t'ame de ma mère (ivre rare)

Que, foi que doi t'ame ma mere, Je ne mangerai mes des dens, tant com je te vaudrai ecrens, Fabl. I, 90.①

t'ame de mon (votre, ton)-père :

Fin Mes chansons de geste, the Renart and the fabliaux, examples of this form occur approximately once to 4000 lines. I have found a few so called examples later than the thirteenth century.② The assevération form ... ma valle, par t'ame mon-père or foi que doi t'ame de mon-père.

Mes onques par t'ame mon-père, Jusa feme ne qui fole, Ren. VI, 56 ff. — Mais par t'ame mon-père, ainçois n'iert arondé, Jen ferai tel justice, com il ert deisé, Fen. N° 21. —

① Also: Ren. M. Ren. II, 71; ② Ballades (Jeschamps, II, 322) Par t'ame mon-père; Mir. M. XXIV, 24; ibid. XXIV, 25;

Mais foi que doi t'ame mon pere, Souvent de duel te euer me serre, Yvain, 559.[1] Par t'ame Augustain Hamel (Fabl. IX, 195). Hence the proper name replacing the general term.

The adjuration form of invocation is generally par t'ame ton (vostre) père[2]; foi que (tu) dois t'ame ton pere occurs with two instances.[3]

Mes di moi par t'ame ton pere!, Ch. Lyon, 3326.— fet il ce, par t'ame ton pere, Fabl. I, 309.— Dioa! fet il, es tu gabeine? Foi que tu dois t'ame ton pere, Et ne croiz tu ce que je di?, Ren. XXIII, 292.— Foi que t'ame de ton pere, dont diz faiche boine merchi, Car atent .I. poi a mi, Fabl. II, 93.

[1] Also: Ren. I, 369; ib. XI, 556, 878; ib. XVII, 182; ib. XXIII, 58; Gaucon., 4483; Jeen. [illegible]; Anc. m. am. 479; Rambx. 5557; Yvain. 561; Rutebeuf, II, 210; Fabl. IV, 121. [2] Ren. XVI, 536; Metre au mar. 109; [illegible]; Fabl. I, 308; ib. II, 49; ib. V, 152. [3] Fabl. II, 93; Ren. XXIII, 292.

Conscience :

The first occurrence of the invocation of this abstraction non oath is found in the Miracle de Nostre-Dame par personnages[1]. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it occurs in all forms of literature, but modern with great frequency (once in 4000 lines in the drama). The form of the invocation is usually par ma (ta) conscience, mais a fait myam- -les sur ma conscience[2].

Si croy je, par ma conscience, Mir. N.D. XVIII, 1269. — Par ma conscience, il est tout plain jusqu'a la nuit, Rec. de Farces, 12. — Et soupfoyt Tresbien par ma conscience, Rab. I, 84. — Or vien ça : Par ta conscience, as-tu congneu, R.T. M.S.-J. I, 22, 10.[3]

[1] XVIII, 1269. [2] R.P.T. XI, 373; R.G.S. I, 42. [3] Also: Th. fr. au. la Ren. 88, 248; R.P.T. V, 190; R.T.M.S.-J. 1, 4, 24; ib. I, 22, 10; A. Th. fr. I, 36, 71; etc.

créance (very rare):

Baron, dont iestes-vous en la vostre creance dist li dus Berengiers: En la nostre creance, de France sommes nes, Lyc. 1455.[1]

for[2]:

Among the very numerous forms of invocation of 'faith' are comprised a number of the most frequently used oath-forms. The occurrence of these invocations is restricted to no period or periods, and is common in the most frivolous and most serious context. Their value is for the most part very unemphatic. In some cases, indeed, their function resembles that of such adverbs as sure, certainly, etc., rather than that of attesting invocations.

[1] Also: gloire. 345. [2] The oaths foi ane dor - etc have been classed according to the object to which faith is vowed. For general discussion see p. 87.

à for :

This prepositional phrase, with the exception of one occurrence in the sixteenth century,[1] does not occur outside of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Within these two centuries, it appears with greater frequency in the chansons de geste than elsewhere. Its function is that of a vocalic modifier. In over 75% of examples it modifies an imprecation, oath, greeting, ~~or~~ or some exclamatory phrase; it rarely emphasizes emphatic statements of purpose or expressions of emotion.

A fol, dist ele, Mahom te puist grever,
H Bord. 7533. — Kaz ait Aaremburc et
quanqu'il a mandé Et tu a fol si
aies grant tu l'as afolé, Pas. Duch. 2282. -
A fol ! Mar soiés vous venus ! Huon, 5

[1] R. F. IV. S. - J. III, 10.

m.a. 177.- A foi, bien vegnies-vous, segneur!, ib. 172.- A foi, dame Deu me confonde Se j'enfouni ne le veoie, Fabl. I, 210.- A feit! co dist li reis, trop i ont grant luntage!, Karls' R. 660. etc.

In the above examples the value of the phrase seems to be interjectional rather than asseverative or adjurative. A fortiori examples where a foi is asseverative function.

A foi tost le feroie du brant fourbi d'acier, J Nant. 247.- A foy! gist Salomon, m'en mics pas ainsi, Koon, 33.

a la foi (one example):

A la foi, ce respondi, ce n'est or mie avis Que fos un sol homme tous, no desvis tous, Ayc. 2623.

à ma foi:

I have noted only six examples of this form; all of them occurring in the lyric poetry of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In all the examples, the phrase modifies, without much emphasis, the answer to a question or request.[1]

Escuiers, qui l'ocist? A la moie foi, sire, dameisiaus de pris, Hoov. 1024. – Ha! dieu! ce dit Hugues, ou est celle fierté? A la moie foi, sire, de celle part tornez, Par. Duch. 1741.[2]

en foi (one my ample):

Deus! don ne m'amoit trop mes sire? En foi, lasse, trop m'amoit il, Ecc. 2574.

[1] See also the usage of en mon dieu, p. 106 f. [2] Also: Fer. 457; Aye, 936; Par. Duch. 3023; Ch. Lyon, 2611.

en ma foi :

Examples are confined to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, occurring in the Chanson de geste and the Renart about once to 3000 lines, in the fabliaux, unfrequently. Its emphasizing value seems stronger than that of *à foi*.

à ma foi. In some cases it modifies unemphatic statements, but in most of our examples it accompanies oaths and emphatic affirmations.

En moie fei, fait Tydeus, Malement conquerron nos plus, Thèbes, 2985. - A trois bacons molt bien salés, dont tu auras en moie foi, Ren. XIV, 665. - En la moie foi, sire, dist la bele al cler vis, Son Malgom me jurastes, vous et vostre arabi, Que il m'i avoit garde n'a t'aie n'al venir Elie de St-Gy. 2146. - En la moie foi, sire, malement us baillis, Aye, 2740. - en moe foi. - t'otroi, Ren. XXI, 25. - Sont ce vostre dui

il? 4 li respont: En mone foi, oil, Klambr. 8269. etc.[1]

par foi:

Except for a few sporadic occurrences in the fifteenth century,[2] this form is confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the chansons de geste it occurs approximately once to every 1100 lines, being only exceeded in number of occurrences by pour dieu, par mon chef, par dieu and en mon dieu; in the Renart, with one occurrence to every 400 lines, it is by far the most common oath; likewise in the fabliaux, which furnish one example to 600 lines. Par-oi is the one form of oath to

[1] Also: Ch. n. D, 1037; Loc. vic. 1457; Orengo, 1374; Mgs, 328; Th. m. B. 1175; 1245; 2385; Mol, 1495; Th. fr. au m. a. 39; Fabl. II, 1[illegible]

[2] R. y. S. I, 16; Th. fr. au. fa Re... 47, [illegible]

occur with frequency in the Courtly Epic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[1] The occurrences of the oath in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages, one in 400 lines, show it to be next to pour dieu in frequency of employment. It occurs occasionally in other productions of a religious character[2], in historical writing[3], and is even found in the didactic poetry of the fourteenth century.[4]

The employment of the oath by the very refined personages of the Courtly epic and

[1] Thèbes, 2407; R Chan. 14, 640, 786, 2457, 3354; Ch. Lyon, 1268, 1278, 1[illegible], 1869, 3022, 5166, 5531; Enée, 3231, 6047; Cliq. 510, 2820, 4454, 4463, 6454; Guil. al. 2491, 3405, 6720; Ch. [illegible] Rs. 3656; Mar. 2243; Escanfle, 3936, 7266. [2] M Coins. 295, 306, [illegible] 553; Miracles de Théophile, Rutebeuf, II, 207, 247. [3] R Clary, 43, 45. [4] M Cond. I, 124, 159.

the most accented clerical characters of the miracles[1] show that it was not regarded as the invocation of a sacred object. The asseverative force of the oath is various, though it sometimes accompanies promises and threats and serious affirmations.

Voir, issir, par foi, Trist., 2407. - Mentir, par foi, RChaus. 5354. - Par foi, fet il, vos dites voir, Ch. 1268. - Mes mare, vous par foi, trois mile, ib. 1278. - Par foi, fait Renart, vos mentes, Ren. XIII, 2152. - Voir, sire Tybert, par foi, je m'en puis mais, ib. XII, 92. - Q. fait qui Mantel, mes amis et mes dieus? Par foi, traïson m'a, il vous mande salus, Y Nant. 1865. - Monseignes, bien veignez, - par foi, Min. NS. X, 158. etc.

More emphatic usage is found in

Je ne pourroie, Mues, par foi, Mir. au m. a.

[1] Min. NS. X, 157 (Notre-Dame); XX, 254 (Bishop); XIV, 408

255.- Par foi, se tost mes seconsmes, Ja seront tout it mort it pris, Guil. Pal. 6720.- Par foi, fait il, au brane forbi d'acier, Le voz convient tout avant desraimier, Gayd. 3981.- Je vous en aiderai, par foi, Se, sauve m'onor, le puis faire, Fabl. I 23.- Par foi, je m'en irai à Saint Michiel, Cour. 306. etc.

par ma foi:

Found frequently throughout the period under consideration. In the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth, it occurs parallel to par foi, tho not as frequently. The relative frequency of the two forms varies in different texts. In the chansons de geste par ma foi is about one half as frequent as par foi, in the Renart about one fourth as frequent, in the fabliaux one sixth, in the Miracles de Notre-Dame one sixth. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries par foi is [illegible]

pleasel, par ma foi becomes very frequent in all forms of literature (limited drama one example to every 475 texts). The M. Fr. form par la mois foi occurs on rare occasions[1] The syntactic function of par ma foi is incomplete. Volentiers, par ma fei, Karls R. 565. - Cil demande: Comment est ce fu? - Par ma fei, sire, il la fera, Thebes, 8061. - diriez le me vos? - Je, non, fet li chevaliers, par ma foi, R Chart. 1934. - Nenil, par ma foi, Ch. Lyon, 6713. - Et je te jure par ma foy, Tu n'en anas ja mal par moy, Mir. Mk. XXXII, 1610. - Et par ma foy je t'en donnay, ib. XX, 175. - et par ma foy je vous pardonne tout, Sept Sages, 19. - Ja, par ma foy, n'y entreray de cest an ne de l'autre, Chans. du XVe S. 30. - Par ma foy, vous estes trop aise, M. fr. au. la Ren. 99. - Veez en cy une, par ma foy, Entre toutes la mieux cloisie, R. G. D. II, 61. - Car, par ma foy, je veuz le maistre de tous ceulx de nostre closture,

[1] Secl. Mod. 1975, 2035.

...t. M.S. I. 3, 5. - Par ma foy, tu as été bien assez mal proportionné, Rab. II, 125. etc.

par votre (ta) foi :

This adjuration form occurs at all periods. Ie te prie, dele, par ta foi, Thèbes, 2401. - Que vous en semble il, Ysabel, - par vostre foy, Mir. NS. XXVII, 38. - Ou mes faire un message, Je t'en prie par ta foy, Evans. du XV^e S. 70. - Est il, - Par - par ta foy en estat de salvation, Rab. I, 109. - Par la foy, [illegible]

par ma foi :

This form does not appear in usage as an asseveration before the fifteenth century. Occasional examples of its use as an adverbial phrase qualifying verbs of declaring may

(1) Also: Thèbes, [illegible]; Ren. XI, 877; Misc. 0584a; Mir. NS II, 194, 30; ib. XII, 1158; Th. Leg. au 4e Ren. 52, 106, 260; R. I. 7. XIII, 145; Cod. Paris, f, [illegible].

ce noted before that time.[1] In the fifteenth and sixteenth the oath becomes common, especially in literature of the upper classes.[2] And in the drama its occurrence is about once in 35 times, or one eighth as frequent as par ma foi.

The function of the expression is that of a weak asseveration.

> Que tant je vous veuly de bien, Et sur ma foy vous m'estes pire, Rond. XXXI. — J'ay ja enduré, mainte injure de ces fault y alcuns sur ma foy, Chans. du XV^e S. 35. - Sur ma foy, respondit l'abbé, vous y yrez chercher ailleurs qui vous prestera, Mich. et Ponj. IV, 494. — Et m'y oseroye, sur ma foy, R. P. 7. IV, 280.

[1] Adam, 777; Coincy, 345; Mir. Nd. XXXV, 604. [2] Rond. XXVII, XXXI, XLVII, LXXIII; Chans. du XV^e S. 35, 37, 91; Mich. et Ponj. IV, 491, 492, 494; R. P. 7. IV, 10; ib. V, 14; etc

sur votre (ta) foi (very rare):

Sur vostre foy, me m'iez-vous de vostre cheval
oeuvres?; Fabl. III, 117.

par nos fois (once example):

Mon tres cher sire, par nez foiz, Ce qui vous
plaist dire feromes, Mir. Ne. XXXVII, 272.

ma foi!:

This interjectional form, with the usual
par or sur omitted, does not appear after the
fifteenth century. It is found chiefly in the
fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but is not
common except in the drama, where it occurs
once to every 1250 lines.

Ma foy, je ne vous congnoys mes, M. des. ad.
la Ren. 70.- Ma foy, se nous estions icy
Jusques a demain, nous n'aurions autre

Also: Dict. (Bes. attrib), 158. [illegible]

chose, ib. 280. — Passer ce temps? Ma foy, il est trop court, ib. 282. — Ung, ma foy, N.T. N.T. S-J. I, 7, 12.©

par ma foi (very rare):

Par ma foi, che dist uns autres, donc parlés de voir, ib. 1970.③

par la foi de (encyclopedic):

Par la foi de tiegn ecar., Ren. Va, 486.

(par(la) foi de mon corps:

This oath is mentioned in a History of Bayard of the sixteenth century③ as the favourite oath of Charles VIII. In addition, occasional examples of the oath are found in other drama.

Par la foy de mon corps, [illegible]

© Also: Rec. de Farces, 140; R.Y.S. I, 126; Th. frç. av. la Ren., 99, 103, 201, 333; S.T.M.S-J. II, 130; ib. III, 7, 11. ② Also: ib., 2085. ③ Richt. Roy. of IV.

pour le tourner, Nicl. et, Poy. IV, 495. – Ten
ta de ce de mon cors, je tremble de vous mes yeux,
Th. fr. au. la Ren. 51. – Foy de mon cors, ainsi
tant y aye, ib. 270.

There appears in the sixteenth century a form of invocation of which the type is foi de gentilhomme; foi d'homme de bien = by my (your) faith as a gentleman, – as an adventurer, etc. These forms are not frequent before the middle of the sixteenth century, but become quite common later. The following examples have been found before 1550:

Se m'est pas, foy de gentilhomme, R. et M. S. I. IV, 12, 11. – Foy de gentilhomme, il vault mieulx bien veoir moins, Rab. I, 231. – Aquin: R. P. F. XIII, 30. – Foy d'homme de bien, dist Panurge, je m'en mentz de mot, Rab. I, 286. – Foy de tantement,

Th. fr. au. la Ren. 51; Ord. de France, 1550; R. et M. S. I. II, 15, 11; ib. III, 17, 1; ib. IV, 12, 11.

Reb. III, 104. — foy de pucelle, ib. II, 212, compare avec la forme foi de foille (not found elsewhere), ib.

Une foiz me vueilz oüy, En foy je ne le ct fiertés femme, Vie. (Bés. attrés.) 154.

En bonne foi:

Thus form occurs at all periods, but never in frequent employment. Its function is invariably asseverative.

en bonne foy je le diray a mon escyent, Sept Sages, 32. — [Mais lez le chien d'cet mes jesin En bonne foy, Mir. Nd. XXXIII, 15 ff.] — Chien dist, oil, en bonne foy, Mir. Nd. ib. III, 602. — En bonne foi, j'ai grand voulois d'escouter sa sage doctrine, Th. fre. au. ta Ken. 346.[1]

par bonne foi (very rare):

[1] Also: Villeh. 60; Th. fre. au m. a. 384; Mir. Nd. XVIII, 274; ib. XXXVI, 274; Chans. du XV^e S. 132; Mich. et Roy. IV, 507; R. P. F. XI, 184; R. MS. [illegible]

The Pope: J'ay de elle veoir grant desir par bonne foy, Mir. N.S. XXVII, 1526.[1]

franchise (one example):
Et li prient par sa franchise que leur fiertre lest en l'eglise, Poëme, 215.

tourneur (one example):
Mon, non, dex te die, sun, mon tourneur, Mich. et Pey. IV, 556.

toz:
Confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In this word the oath occurs generally in the utterances of pagans; the adjuration form is employed either by pagan addressing Christian, or vice versa. The signification of toz is not

[1] See: Foerster, p. 12 [illegible]

dently 'faith', 'creed, rule'.

Par mes ydres et par ma foi, N'en eschaperai autrement, Thèbes, 4248. - Et dist Judas: Par ma foi, me mena, Prise de Cordres, 2412. - A fous: C'est-à-dire, par ma foi, Je t'ai presté plus d'un jalon qu'ores. 551. - Raimouart addressing a pagan: Dist Raimouars: Volentiers, par ma foi, dusc.. 6590 a. - par ta foi, douce mere, Mystère, 88.[1]

The following forms of oath involving foi have been found.

par la foi que me doit, Thèbes, 2751. - par ta foi[2] que ci est-procent, Résurrection, H. fr. m. m. a. 19. - par ta foi dont tu vis, Ch. 231. - par cele foi que vos tenez plus salve, Rol. 648.

loyauté (mod.).

[1] Also: Doon, 8507; Gauf. 8845; Mir. Not. XXXII, 689, 1545. [2] Here foi =

que, par ma foraute, dui s'en fuina in champs, ne y'en ay pooste, du corps te compenna, Foom, 980. - Un ca, par vos. n foyaute, Ysabel, tequel vault mieux faire, Mus. MS. XXVII, 976. ©

malédiction (one example):

Qu'est-ce maus, par vo malicon, Aub. 59.

merci:

Provocations et mes vostracion ecen decasionally in the tolfte and thirteenth and fourteenth centuries variation function.

Bers par ma foi. par ta foi merci, Am. m. Am. 1724. - par la vostre merci, Une tenu y a mu reson, Fabl. I, 2. ©

Also: Vien, 2896; Mus. MS. XXXVI, 1215. ©; Chif, 7827; Mus. MS. XXXV, [illegible]

mort (one example):

Mort de moy! vous y jouez vous dure dame
Merencolie, Chart. d'Orléans, Rond. XCIII, II,
130. (Zöckler).

This form alters in expression to mort (de)
dieu.[1]

non (rare):

En non de moy, qu'il m'amont tout a arenc,
Rutteb. I, 90.[2]

passion (one example)

Par la passion que j'endure, qu'est ores,
R. q. S. II, 282.

sacrement (See above in division 'Religious Abstractions')

[1] See above, p. 142 a. [2] See also: Mus. ND. XIX, 330, 785;
ib. XXI, 136.

salut (one example):

Par mon salut, je ne cuit n'ainc nul crestien ville ait homme en vie qui a point le scenst espondre, Mir. Nd. XXII, 464.

sauvement (one example):

Ou, foi que doi, mon sauvement, vous tenroiz jai malvés sentier, Fabl. II, 120.

sermenT:

My first example of this invocation is in the Miracles de Nos. D. - Dame par. 1 - sonnages[1]. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is very frequent (once to 75 times in the drama). Occurrences are found in both popular and polite literature.[2] No exam-

[1] XXVI, 669; XXVIII, 088. [2] Chans. du XVe S. 5, 38; Rond. CLXIX; Vill. (Poés. attrib.), 1534; R. P. T. II, 291, 295; ib. IV, 12; ib. V, 78, 97, 103; ib. IX, 1; ib. XI, 290; ib. XII, 139; [3] Mor. 4, 290.

plus trade decrit dans Roquefort. (Par) mon serment is the usual form of the invocation; par mon serment,[1] par mon serment,[2] par mon serment[3] and par le serment qu'ay au roy[4] each occurs once.

par mon serment je vous laisse tout franchement Joie d'Espaigne, Mir. Nº. XXVIII, 088. — Par mon serment, dey roige, Chans. du XV^e s. 8. — Par mon serment, j'en suis content, R.G.S. I, 145. — Par mon serment, il se mourra-t-il parlant, M. fre. ed. la Ren. 103. — Mon serment, j'en enor le tesmoigne, A m'a conté, ib. 371.

soif (very rare):

Par ma soif, dist Ruzebome, ie le veuly bire, Rab. II, 400[5]

[1] R.G.S. I, 16. [2] R.G.S. I, 166. [3] M. fre. ed. la Ren. 321, [4] Mir Nº. XXVI, 669, [5] Also: ed. II, 134, 136; I, 49

vérité (one example):

C'estes-vous, par ma verité, l'ous-meme, M. fr. au ta Ken. 98.

vertu[1] (rare):

Et vertu de moy, dieu! ta parole, K. 7. M.S-V. II, 15, 20. — Vertu de ma vie, A. H. fre. I, 133. Vertu de moi (ma vie) is an euphemistic variant of vertu dieu, in the first example dieu is indeed present, as the result of the combination of the two oaths vertu de moi and vertu dieu.

vie (occasional):

Sire je n'en oseie dist Audo, par ma vie, Ch. au j'estoie si fourcé que n'avoie dou le. Audo, 8116. — Or me di par ta vie, Ken. 20, 10. — Messeigneurs, j'ay changé mon ma

[1] See also below, p. 2[illegible]. [1] See also above, p. 111 fg.

vie, du Roy, Mich. et Roy. IV, 555. – Si voeray
voeux, aux ma vie, A. Th. fo. II, 130.

II. Material attributes.

Invocations of material attributes of the speaker, the person addressed or the person referred to are characteristic of the period from the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century. Occurrences of these forms of invocation in literature of a later date, with the exception of the oaths involving le corps[1], are relatively rare[2]. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the oath is frequent in all forms of literature. No matter how frequent occurrence in the country this is noticeable. We are also struck by the use of the oath in utterances of the animal characters of the Renart in forms that do not appear elsewhere, such as: pan, mes dous et pax mes ex[3], pan, ma pel[4], pax

[1] See below, p. 316. [2] Hist. litt. de la Fr. XXIII, 127, 143, 144; Rec. de Fabl. 2; Rab. I, 289; ib. III, 4. [3] XII, 337. [4] XIV, 844.

mes dex[1], etc. The common occurrence of this form of oath in the Rol and other texts of the earliest period[2] seems probably a relic of primitive usage.

The emphasizing power of the oath varies for the different forms.

par Dieu[3]:

Invocations of the Deity are largely confined to the Chansons de geste.[4] There are numerous forms of the invocation, par Dieu, par ma foi, par ma barbe floris[5], par ma barbe, merci[6] and par cele barbe occur with greater frequency

[1] I 4; 302; XIV, 150; XVI, 160. [2] Rol. 47, 247, 249, 261, 271a, 799, 1719, 3753; Auc. 10, 46; Karls K. 41, 660; Jeu St. Nicol. 74. [3] See also jurons, p. 318. [4] Ren. VI, 415; XXII, 658; XXIII, 327; Rab. I, 289; ib. III, 4. [5] Diol. 932; Ren. VI, 415; ib. XXIII, 327; Rab. I, 289; ib. III, 4. [6] Gaufr. 183 [illegible]; Q. Bourg. 3; 3293. [7] Ramon. [illegible] Metz, 23; Berg. 1944; Fier. 3c 8; Bourg. #61; Aye, 806. [8] Rol. 247, 261, 714; 754; Aym. 3583; Li Nerb. 2537.

than the others; /par. ma barbe[1], /par. ma barbe chanue[2], /par la barbe de mon pere[3], and /par (de)ceste mienne barbe[4] and /par la barbe qui me pent sor le pis[5] are sporadic.

The usage of these forms is distinctive in the frequency with which they are uttered by the Saracens and by the French emperors, generally Charlemagne; but of the examples II are uttered by members of the Emperor, 7 in utterances of the Saracens. This restriction of usage shows clearly that in the minds of the O.Fr. the beard was associated, by tradition, with the Mohammedans and the royal family. As regards the former, beyond the fact of their wearing beards, I can find no reason for ascribing to them any special reverence that part of the person. Contemporaneous references, however, seem to indi-

[1] Karls R. 661. [2] Li Mens. 4939. [3] Rol. 48. [4] Rol. 1719; Ren XXII, 6538. [5] H Bord. 1050.

cate that at one time long hair was characteristic of the Carolingian princes[1]. The body of Clodomir, killed in battle, was identified by its long hair; the body of the child Clodoric, whom Frédégonde had caused to be murdered and then thrown into the Seine, was recognized by the abundance of his hair.

The emphasis of the oath is often very strong. Par ma barbe, se j'en ai aise, Je t'en ferai estre a malaise, Ren. XXIII, 327. — Et Karles respondi: Par, ma barbe florie, Ne vous ai ge serment devant ta baronie, Ja n'i en perdrez t'onnour, Daurs 5221. — Et ce fu voir, fet Karles, par ma barbe meslée, Aye, 806. — Par ma barbe, meslée, ce dist li Sarrazins, Ne cuit que vorés ti nori, Bovon. 401. — Par ceste barbe, dunt ii a mut cunut, S'uns en escapet, morz ce a cunturdug, Rol. 953.

[1] See Leber 'Coll. de Pièces,' VIII, 113ff: 'de la longue chevelure des rois de la première race'

Par ma foi, ce fut Hugue, et par ma damoiselle
Isabe, cruant de mi-parture, ne y eberge mais
altre, Karl's R. 660.

Chapman (one example):

Jek voi, dustik, par mon chapel, Fabl. I, 191.

Chief:

This form of oath is not found after the
fourteenth century. It is one of the commonly
used oaths in the chansons de geste, occur-
ring once to about 75 times. In the Renart it
occurs once to 1000 times, in the rabliaux, once
to 1150 times. It is not unfrequent in the court-
ly Epic. Historical and religious literature of the
thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sporadic

① Ch. Lyon, 1217, 3219, 3345; R Charr. 503, 701, 4805; Ch. Nesf. 513,
3608; Escoufle, 3040; Rom. Bl. 1237, 2110; [illegible], 136, 407,
457, 1044, 2[illegible]

Examples[1]

The usual forms are par mon chief, par le mien chief and par le tien chief, par ce est chief,[2] *par est chief,*[3] *once*

Par mon chief! voix en dites, Nymes, 729. – Par mon chief, ce ai mon, Jay d. 4657. – Je me jor par mon chief, K'amon. 6015. – Une due, pre contes, .XXV. par mon chief, Con. Ko. Mes C. 1623. – Docq me vous ore gabé? Ce dist Renart: Marie, biau sire, Par mon chief, Ren. III, 314. – Amis, menjue-tu tant? Ne me celer tu ja. Nanil, sire, dist il, par mon chief, Tres fors a, Ybourg. 2214. – J'en oeuvre, par mon chief! quatre .XX., Chevs, 508. – Par mon chief, fet Malcaganz, Quanque vos dites est neanz, K'Cham. 4305. – Je me tieng mon mes amis, par le mien chief, Aiol, 3565. etc.

[1] *Hl'al. 40; Lud'Mich'las, Th. fig. aum. a. 206; Mus. Wal. XII, 415; ib. XXIII, 203; ib. XXIX, 405; 788, 2066.* [2] *Aiol, 2819, 3506, 3950; Tabl. II, 155.* [3] *Thèbes, 4269.*

coquille (one example):

Non, car il n'est mie si sec comme il
cuide, par ma coquille, Mar. M. XXXVII, 824.

corps:

Found sporadically at all periods with widely
varying forms of invocation. Par ~~cest~~ corps[1] and
foi que dois mon corps[2] etc occur in the twelfth and
thirteenth centuries; par le corps de moi[3] appears
in two instances in the Miracles de Notre-Dame
par personnages[4]; par mon corps,[5] once in the
~~xvi~~ xiv; par ce corps,[6] corps de moi![7] and
le corps de moi dieu![8] (confusion of ce pour de moi
and corps dieu) furnish sporadic examples in the
sixteenth.

Dance, foi que je doi mon corps, je n'en re-

[1] Escoufle, 8159; Ren. II, 1315. [2] Fabl. I, 315; Jub. II, 187; Cour. 60;
[3] XXXIII, 1711; XXXVII, 3246. [4] Michel Pey. I, 372. [5] Mir. I 36;
R.F. N.S.-f. II, 11, 21. [6] H. fr. av. ta Ren. 290. [7] H. fr. av. ta Ren. [illegible]

trai, one me one, Fabl. I, 315. — Que par cest cors et par ceste ame, Bien pert iures et ide dame, Escoufle, 8159. — Le corps de moy deu, s'il attrape le fourre gorrier rodu, c'est fait, il est cuict et mondu, M. Hg. 20. a Lm. 24.

Couillon (one example):

Car en amours mouvent martin; Le fina- il sur son coutel, Quand de ce monde sont partis, Dilo. 77.

dents:

Twelfth century turns in the Renart by Renart and Tybert. Outside of this text, only three examples have been met, one in the fabliaux[1] and two in the sixteenth century[2].

Que par mes denz et par mes nes, Je vous metrai en male paine, Ren. XVI, 337. — [illegible]

[1] Fabl. III, 261. [2] M. Hg. à la Re- 127, 447.

doez, menty -par vos dents, Thèbes, w. ca l'on. 744.[1]

figue (one example)

par ma figue, vous serez bien confessez, Rab. II, 271.

Probably a parody of *par ma foi*.[2]

grenon, gernun, grenons:[3]

Six examples of the invocation are found in my material, five of them comparable to the chansons de geste. These five examples occur in utterances of Charlemagne; in no instance is the oath uttered by a pagan, as is frequent for invocations of *la barbe*.

I'an ceste barbe et par cest mon gernun,
Vus n'irez pas, Rol. 249. - *Car se cil bien*
voloent, par mon destre grenon, Fai n'i an

[1] Also: Ren. I b, 302; id. XIII, 716; id. XIV, 150, 160; Fabl. III, 261;
[2] See above p. 294. [3] See also invocation of [illegible] 311

remore a Paris ma maison, Orson, 3267. - Ne
ie mentes par les gremons, Tabl. VI, 93. ①

gueule (one example):
Vostre hom, par ma gueule, serai, Gloria
534.

yeux, oeil:
Mutations of the eyes occur in all forms
of literature during the twelfth and thir-
teenth centuries, occurrences ceasing in the
fourteenth. ② Several forms of the earlier
seen here, of which par mes yeux and
par les ieus & par mon chief are the most com-
mon. Par mes yeux is the regular form in
the Roland ③ and the Couronnement ④ and the more

① Also: Gayd. 4254, 8475; Fab. 2280. ② Mir. Ne. XXI,
143. ③ XIII, 203; XIV, 346; XVI, 1170, 1307, 1309. ④ Ch. II, 4120; Mir. 200; Ch. Lyon, 4137; Ph. [illegible]

usual form in the fabliaux.[1] Par les yeux de mon chief (teste), as the only form occurring in the chansons de geste[2]; it also occurs once in the fabliaux[3]. Other forms of the oath are par mes deux yeux,[4] par ces deux yeux,[5] par les yeux dont je te vois[6] ~~and~~ foi que dois mes yeux[7] and par l'ueil[8].

Mais par mes ieus, il ne me tint trop ale avant, Ch. II, esp. 4120. – Tu le comparras, par mes ieus, fabl. I, 107. – Oil, biau sire, par les ieus de mon chief, par. Loh. I, 15. – Non ferai, par les ieus de mon chief, Rich. 7540. – Par mes deus ieuz, vos t'acorez Et toz dis mes amis serez, Ren. XXIII, 2054. – Mes par les ieus dont je te voi, Tels T'a ar-gent en paume mis Qui ne cesse plus

[1] I, 10; II, 5; V, 169. [2] Aiol, 6478, 6789; R Cambr. 7540; Elys, 123; Par. Loh I, 18. [3] III, 11. [4] Ren. XXIII, 2055; Fabl. I, 183. [5] Mus. Mé. XXI, 1043. [6] Ruteb. II, 12. [7] Fabl. IV, 10. [8] Rond. XCVIII

fols que toi, Rutebeuf, II, 12.

main, destre, (rare) :

Je sui chevalier adoubez, Le meillor trestot par ma main, Fabl. III, 254. — Viau par la main dont je taing le cuer, Se Yseüs ne vous eut mon vuel, En petit d'eure li trouvai tel conbet, Rimbert, 5806. — Si feroiz vous, par la main destre dont je vous taing, Lyon, 1727. — Par cele main destre Et par la barbe qui al pis me ventele, L'ost des Francois vaine remeine desfeng, Rol. 47.

peau (une mamelle) :

Primaut, dist Renaus, par ma fei ... Chaut i volsist noire, Ren. XIV, 344.

nerfs (une mamelle) :

Une par mes deus et par mi, non je

voue, ruetrai en mele saine, Ren. XIV, 33 r°

sang (race)!

Me oatte (par) le sang de moy, ne espie-
mistie imitation de sang dieu, seems sporad-
ically in the fifteenth century[1]. A confusion
of the form with sang dieu appears in
le sang bieu de moy![2] Par le (saint)[3] sang
que dieu me fit is found once in the
Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages[4]
and sporadically in the fifteenth century[5]:

Par le sang de moy! je bensoye Pour ne
c'est que vous me prenez, Th. fre. ad. la Ren.
III. – Vous me gastez. Le sang bieu de moy!
je m'enfume, ib 143. – Mais, par le
sang que dieu me fist, Je serai vraistre en

[1] Th. fre. ad. la Ren. III, 143. [2] Th. fre. ad. la Ren. 143. [3] See saint sang bleu, p. 14. [4] XII, 41 r°. [5] Rec. de Farces, 3; Th. fre. ad. la Ren. 1

ma maison, Rue de Tarees, 3.

tête:

Confined to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth. Occurrences of the oath are sporadic in the Courtly Epic,[1] the Chansons de geste,[2] the fabliaux,[3] the Renart[4] and the thirteenth century drama;[5] they become more frequent in the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages.[6] Par ma teste, par coste teste and par coste mort teste are the forms found.

Or comparons ancui mort cuis d'ostre sorte, par ma teste!, Erec, 5712.- Che sera mon, bar diste teu, Rob. et Man. 260.- Nenil, dist Auoris, par coste mort teste, Ne sui pas

[1] Erec, 5712. [2] Aspr., 2519; Aye, 3761, 5525. [3] I, 138, [4] XVI, 1170, 1307. [5] Rob. et Man. 260. [6] XI, 67; XXIV, 43; XXXII, 114; XXXIII

Sarazin, Aye, 3524.

III. Persons bearing a relation of some sort to the speaker, the person addressed or the person referred to.

Almost without exception[1] invocations of this type are made in the associative form (par ta) foi que je dois (porter) à — etc and the corresponding adjunctive form par ta foi que vous (tu) devez (dois) (porter) à — etc. Such oath-forms occur commonly in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but are very rare in later times.[2] The syntactic function appears in general to be that of associations and adjunctions of moderate emphasizing-power.

[1] De par les tiens me pardon, Ren. XVI, 393. Pour l'amour de —, Alex. XIII; Elie, 2689, Aye, 112. (Jurer) les bras d'amis, Thèbes, 1736. Par Sainte Marie, Rabi 60. 2 Th. fre. and la Ren. 80, 81; R. P. 7. V, 210, 219, 276; id. XIII, 141; R. G. S. I, - - 2.

The most frequent forms of this oath are ~~the~~ (a) the associative form, involving the faith which the speaker owes the person addressed and (b) the adjurative form, involving the faith owed the speaker by the person addressed.

(a) ~~[par ta (celle) (grande)] foi que je~~ [par ta (celle) (grande)] foi que je (~~te~~) à vous (to) tois (porter).[1]

This oath occurs at all periods, being, however, very infrequent after the fourteenth century.[2] This fairly frequent in the Courtly Epic,[3] at

[1] See also: par cele foi qu'a vos tos doi, Guib. Pal. 6532; foi que je doi vo cors, Ch. reg. au m. a. 166; par la foi que je vos plevi (Peregrinus Mobb), Ren. Va, 423; par cele foi que je vous ai portée (Guillaume to his mother), Alisc. 2890; foi que vos vo devon, H Cap. 99; par ta grant foy et ferme qu'ay en toy (Bourgeois to God), Mir. N.D. XXXV, 135°C. [2] Tuebe, 4959, 8379, 8677, 9873; Guib d'A. 1737, 2503; Guib. Pal. 1497, 2274, 6530; Escoufle, 2946, 5980. || [3] H. frç. au Ier s., 80, 81; R.Q.S., I, 42; R.P.F., V, 216.

in the Renart once to 400 times, in the Chanzons de geste once to 1500 times, in the Fabliaux once to 1500, in the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages once to 2000.

It may be of interest to indicate under what conditions this form of address is addressed to another. It is employed regularly by inferiors to superiors, and by equals to one another, even when cordial relations do not exist between the speaker and the person addressed.[1] It is used also by superiors addressing a group of inferiors[2]. A superior, however, addressing

[1] Ren. XI, 191 (Ren. to Ysengrin); id. XI, 204 (Ysengrin to Renart); Par. Rueil. 1235 (Hugues in anger to companions); Guil. Pal. 2241 (Guillaume to opposing leader); Aye, 119 (par la foi que vous doi, fort vin beustuse)

[2] Karls K. 754 (king to subjects); Thèbes, 4954 (king to his council); Guil. Pal. 6530 (Guillaume to his knights); Am. u. Am. 235 (lady to subjects); Aye, 1473 (Aymeri to dependent nobles), 615 (Charlemagne to vassals); Par. Rueil. 828 (Paris to his companions).

an inferior, very rarely uses the oath, unless some close relationship exist between them;[1] our examples of this use are confined to three cases in the Renart,[2] three in the fabliaux[3], one in Jourdain[4] and one in the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages;[5] the occurrences have been found in the chansons de geste or the courtly Epic.

b. [par (sur[6]) ta (cele)] foi que vous (tu) me decoyez (portes).[7]

[1] Found. Bi. 3905 (noble to nephew); U Castl. 508 (4 sons to daughter); viol, 272 (Eue to Iheson Diol). [2] Ia, 2004 (noble to Renart's wife), XI, 2073 (Noble to Berna., the archbishop); XIII, 2003 (Noble to Renart disguised). [3] I, 270 (Bourgeois to bourier); II, 106 (lady to valet); II, 81 (knight to squire). [4] 766 (St Louis to Jeanicle in a dream). [5] XXIII, 65 (Amis to a pilgrim). [6] Jourd. 387; Mir. Nt. II, 1020; K. P. T. XIII, 141. [7] See also: par cele foi, ne me plevestes (man to wife), Fabl. III, 241; par ta foy que vous m'aves baillié (queen to huge man), Jourd. 34; par cele foy qu'a moy ues, Mir. Nt. XXIII, 1661.

No examples of this form are found in the Chanson de geste; in other texts it appears parallel to the associative form with approximately one fifth its frequency. (*)

The social restriction found to exist in the employment of the associative form is even more distinct in the case of the [illegible] form. This is natural, as the speaker probably hesitates to insert upon his own superiority by addressing this form of oath to another. Only one example of its employment by an inferior to a superior has been found. (1) Of the other and of those noticed the marked frequency with which the adjuration is employed by kings (2) and the higher clergy (3) in speaking to their inferiors.

Mes je t'aim mout, foi que vos doi, Guild'a. [illegible]

(1) Roo. I Mor. 47 (Marion to Gualeran: ni que vous mi doois). (2) Guil. d'O. 221; Ch. II esp. 1540; Fourn. 387, 395; Mir. Ste. D. IV. 113; ib. XXXIII 1544. (3) Mir. Ste. D. II, 1029; ib. III, [illegible].

(*) R.P.F. V, 210, 276; ib., XIII 141.

dous amis, foi que je vos doi, La choze vient tot autrement, Escoufle, 5850. – Ains par la foi que je vos doi, Coes gros serés de la toi, Ren. XI, 2173. – Et dist: Amis, foi que vous doi, Je m'en vais orendroit au roi, ib. XI, 1677. – Par la foi que voz doi, vos dites verité, Par. duch. 1235. – Foi que doi voz, ja celen mes vos que, Agm. Mathl. 473. – Par cele foi que je vos doi porter, Ne les veill mie departir ne doner, Ii Nerb. 545. – Foi que doi toi, Ja parolez mout folement, Fabl. II, 257. – Dame, par la foy que vous doy, C'est un vrai filz, Mir. NDame XV, 514. – Ken, dist il, foi fe decés moi, Cest vallet a ostel menés, Ch. II. esp. 1540. – Beau hostes, foi que me devez. . . Or escoutez, Fabl. I, 305. – Par cele foi fe moi devés, Molés mon tele, ib. II, 32. – Et ains la foy que me devez, Despoillez la trestoute nue, Mir NDame II, 1020. – Acatés-moy, foy que me devez, Se vous l'esperoien estre, R. P. F. V, 210.

Next in frequency of occurrence to the oath-forms, foi que je vous dois etc. and foi que vous me devez etc are the forms addressed to the different members of the family. Invocations of this type appear only in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No forms are found in common use.

Parents:

Par la foi que je doi ceus dont je viens, Reg. G Bourg. 3821.— Foi que doi .. le mien ne le meisme, Erson, 335.— Foy que je dey mon pere Enoch, Mir. Nd. XXXV, 1090.— foi que di: ma mere, Fabl. IV, 59.①

Wife.

Ame foi que je doi a ma fame, Ha Tour, Ken. XVI, 800.②— foi que doi ma mollier, ib. XVI, 1118.— Foi que je doi Herenant la franche, ib. XXII, 300.— foi que doi femme

① Also: Fables, 4508, Doon, 6105; G Bourg. 586; Mir. Nd. XXXII, 150.

② Also: Ken. XVI, 30

c. 595. – par la foi que doi m'espouse, Li Nerb. 197.

Children.

foi que je doi ~~—~~ ~~—~~ ~~—~~

par t'omage que je fis Notre tion, Ren. I, 568.[1] — foi que doez vertu te roi, ib I, 2378. — Foi que je doi Gaydon et Amaufroi, Gayd. 6066. Par cele foi que dois au roi Pepin, Vous deussiez de mon terre tenir, Gar. Ren. I, 241. — par ta foi que ge ai presantee Chanson de Franee, Agm. Math. 1359.

Friends are invoked in general terms in this oath-form (par ta) foi que (dois(tous), mes amis (porter)

Mais par ta foi que doi tous mes amis, Mone contre tui n'iert ti mien escus prins, Gar. Loh. I, 172.[2]

The faith owed the beloved is not infrequently invoked.

Et dist... foi que il doit a'amie, Mes ja n'en aura reançon, Ren. XVI, 310.[3] — Foi que je

[1] also: ib. XXII, 289. [2] also: Gar. Loh. I, 171; Orson, 1017; Bord. 765; Jus T. Nicholas, Hafre. au m. a. 167. [3] also:

doi Hervi, mi ami, Ab. XXI, co[illegible]t. si li mande, com a son com ami, qu'il me veuille mener, par la foi doit li, Aub[o] 11,10. Par la foy que je doi ma mie, Orenge, 284.— foi que doés Mahote, Th. Escaum. a. 180— Par sainct, mariage, Rab. I, 66.

Compare also:

par la foi que doi tout vraie vous porter, Par. duch. 035, 1447.— par la foi que doi a mes barons, Jourd. Bl. 401.— Par l'amor des baron Galopin, Elie, de St. G. 2159.— Foi que ji doi Diex Hubert, Ren. XVII, 7701

Also: Mir. Nre Dame. [illegible]. Also: Mir. Nre Dame.

Q.

1. Miscellanées d'objets d'invocation,

2. D'après nature.

Sus, par male aventure, Mir. Ms. XXXIII, 1050. - Sorge loi la bantuve, Rutebeuf II, 10. - par le ciel o li solaus flamoie, Le Mesnagier, 538. - par la foi que doi le conte, Gloriss. 002. - par cele corone dont m'aves coroné, Gaydon, 382. - Pour l'amour des dames, Ch. de Troyes au Ms. Ren. 325. - foi que deves Mahon, Fabl. I, 3 a. - par la foi que te xiens lois que plus chiens as, Guil. Pal. 178. - par le saint soleil qui roye, Ch. de Troyes au Ms. Ren. 100.

2. D'après nature.

Par l'ameçon Berengier, Ren. VII, 778. - par la croix d'un mouton, Fabl. I, 6. - Foy que doy Bretaigne Bigod, Vie des Ducs. - Foy que doy Turpelin, mon chien, X, 207. - aguisa sa cornette grise, X, 210. - Mort d'une!, Ch. de Troyes au Ms. Ren. 333. - par mes cinq sens (le cul), R. de F. II, 158. - par la cringe qui se rebrasse, Rab. II, 10. - Par les ambles de mon mulet, Rab. II, 150. - Par le mandre de ce fallot, Rab. II, 274. - Par le trion Madame, Rab. II, 406. - nous mirent figues d'ounes (= dorées), Rab. II, 472. - [illegible]

Ogier [illegible]

turlutaine, Rab. III, 4.© — Par l'aube du valz que ie sonte, Rab. III, 33. — Par l'aeme de ma tirquette iseindiffes, Rab. III, 211. — Par la roigne des andouilles, Rab. III, 214. — Par mes lunettes orientales, Rab. III, 211

© Agaimbault, 1.

Chapter 3. Literary and Chronological Usage.

The French documents antedating the twelfth century furnish no examples of asseverative oaths. Adjuratory forms, such as sour dieu and pour l'amour de dieu are, however common.[1] This early literature being highly religious in character, the presence of adjuratory oaths and the absence of asseverative oaths is to be expected.[2]

Asseverative oaths first make their first appearance in the Roland and the Pelerinage de Charlemagne. In neither of these two poems, as compared with later productions, do we find a large number of oaths. In proportion to the length, the number is much larger in the Pélérinage than in the Roland, a situation easily explained by the difference of purpose and tone of the two epics. In addition, the forms of oath employed show much divergence. The Roland is the dignified expression of feudal life in the middle ages and reflects the close union of feudalism in

[1] Cf. XLIV, XLV, XCIII, etc. [2] See above, p. [illegible]

and the church. The fantastic and burlesque Pelerinage seems to be almost a direct satire on the conditions described in the Roland. The difference in oath-usage between these two poems should be of interest as illustrating the presence or absence of religious seriousness.

In the Roland we find by far the most frequent oath-form to be par cele (la) barbe with varying qualifications.[1]

[1] par cele barbe, 244, 2714, 3953; par cele meie barbe, 1719; par cele barbe que vecz blanc checien, 261; par la barbe ki al pis me ventelet, 1 passim.

We find also par mon chief,[1] par coste mein destre,[2] par cest men gernun[3]. Apart from these invocations of physical attributes of the speaker and the oath employed by Marsile in his closing speech to Ganelon (par cele ki ques tenez plus salve),[4] no forms of oath are found except such adjurative oaths as occur also in the Alexis, Passion, etc; so: por deu[5] and por amur deu[6]. The absence of asseverative invocations of religious objects indicates a feeling that these expressions were undignified or even sacrilegious. The common use of oaths by physical attributes of the speaker is not only proof of the propriety of this form of invocation but also illustrates the veneration which the mediaeval knight

[1] 799. [2] 48. [3] 249. [4] [5] 1473, 1693. [6] 3765.

had for all external signs of valour.

In the Pelerinage oaths by physical attributes of the speaker are proportionately rare; asseverative invocations of Dieu and the speaker's faith are common.

Par mon chief... le rei me nomez, 41.[1] — Par Dieu, co dist l'escolte, fors estus et membrez, 465.[2] — par Deu omnipotent, Remain les lerai pendre, 754. — Volentiers, par ma fei, 500.[3] — Per ta fei que vos dei, rien est ne bels ne genz, 755. — etc.

Proceeding to the William of Orange epics of the first half of the twelfth century, we find that the use of oaths is here the same as that which characterizes the chansons de geste of the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The Covenans Vivien, the Couronnement Loöys, it is true, do not display as frequent a use of oaths as many later texts such as Raoul de Cambrai and Girart de Beauvais, but as far as

[1] Again: 51. [2] Also (by same speaker): 482, 490, 505, 515, 528, etc.
[3] Also: 53, 366, 629, 660

as the type of oath is concerned, they may as a class be treated along with these latter.

The chansons de geste cover a period of over a century and a half, ~~from the earliest to the latest specimens of the genre~~, and they may be expected to offer too broad a segment of oath-material to be treated as a unit. But in the matter of oaths, as in other matters of style, the poets of the later epics such as Jourdain and Hugues Capet are imitators, and no element of style could lend itself better to imitation than the oath. The chansons de geste furnish a verge large mass of oaths, and yet bearing a more characteristic stamp than that of any other literary genre of the period under investigation. These epics, being composed in honour of a restricted class, the feudal nobles, are throughout marked with his identity. They express

specifically the thoughts and sentiments of the class and from this view-point may be grouped with the Country Epics in contrast to the fabliaux and the Roman de Renart, which are of popular inspiration. A comparison between these two groups from the limited standpoint of oath-usage reveals the moral and cultural distinction. The epic noble, as pictured in the chansons de geste, is a soldier, a faithful adherent of his liege Lord and a most catholic Christian. He invokes as objects of reverence his right hand, his head, his eyes, his beard, his loyalty, his faith to his seigneur and the deity and to all his friends. If he invoke God, it is oftenest in some tangible phase of his greatness, — the Lord who made him, who governs the world, who makes the clouds fly, etc. Even more characteristic of these epics is the

of reliance on God aroused by the motive in invocations, attesting, as it were, a liege lord whom one has a just right to invoke in witness of one's veracity and good intentions.

Let us bring out these facts by an analysis of the oath-usage of the Chansons de geste.[1]

[1] The following analyses include only such oaths or groups of oaths as are characteristic of the literary genres in question, or that show an occurrence varying from that of other genres. When practicable the occurrence of oaths has been indicated by the formula '1 – x', meaning that one example was found to every 'x' lines as an average. I have avoided giving any references to texts, as I believe sufficient references will be found for particular oaths by referring to Chapter 2.

God the Father.

Par dieu: 1-1000.

De par dieu: no occurrences.

Pour dieu: 1-700.

Dieu with a breeding qualifier: rare.

Dieu (unphrased or unidentified) plus an adjective or appositive qualifier: 1-650; especially, dieu le dommaire, -le spirituel, -le dreturnes, -le paradis, -de majesté, -omnipotent.

Dieu, on a substitute, plus a relative clause: 1-600; especially, invocations of "God the omnipotent" and "God the truthful."

En nom dieu: 1-1100.

God the Son:

The name of Christ: relatively frequent.

Dieu (= Christ) plus an adjective or appositive qualifier: relatively frequent; especially, dieu le fil Sainte Marie, -le noyaniant,

dieu (= Christ) - plus ~ relative dans ; relatively frequent ; especially, dieu qui le venge naquit etc.

Indirect Invocation of Christ through the medium of some attribute : very rare.

Vierge Mary :

Sainte Marie and la Vierge honorée, etc : relatively frequent.

Saints :

As a class or in groups.

les saints : 1-15 00 ; especially, les saints dessous ciel and les saints que dieu fit.

Individually : 1- .

Par (pour) saint- : 1-1000 ; par la foi que dois saint- etc : 1, 25 00 ; par (pour) le corps de saint- : 1-5 00.

Denis, Pierre, Paul, Jacques, Remi and Riquier especially frequent.

Holy abstractions.

Sainte Chrétienté, sainte Charité, vertu du ciel and vertu nommée, especially frequent.

Abstract attributes of the speaker etc.

Par mon âme: no occurrences.

D'ici de mon (ton, votre) père: 1-4000.

En ma foi: 1-3000.

Par foi: 1-1100; par ma foi: 1-2000.

Material attributes of the speaker etc.

Par ma (cette) barbe etc, and especially frequent.

Par mon chef: 1-750.

Par les yeux de mon chef (tête), and especially frequent.

Persons related to the speaker, etc.

Par la foi que vous devez: 1-1300.

The absence of the adjuration oath *de par dieu* from the chansons de geste is worthy of note since this expression is frequent in other forms of literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly in the Courtly Epic and the fabliaux. All forms of invocation of *dieu* qualified, except where the qualifier is a preceding adjective, are found more frequently in the chansons de geste than elsewhere.

Oaths by attributes of God the Son are noticeably lacking, in comparison with oaths of a popular character, to which this form of oath inherently belongs. Two examples of such oaths found in my material are three occurrences of *par le coeur bon* (1). Two of these examples occur in the utterances of the striking

(1) Gayd. 249, 2404; Alisc. 7474.

ter of the poem Gaydon, the peasant "traveson" Gautier. They are evidently ascribed to him by the author of the epic with the aim of emphasizing his low social rank. The third example, from Aliscans, is put in the mouth of Rainouart, who, in spite of being the son of an "amiral" and the hero of the latter part of the epic, shows many of the ill-bred characteristics of Gautier.

One of the most distinctive oaths of the national epics is a circumlocution for the name of some saint, whom we may conjecture to be either St. Jacques de Santiago or St. Pierre (Père) de Rome. These circumlocutions are based on the appellation apôtre, the most usual forms being par l'apôtre que cherchent pélerin (bénéant)[1] and par l'apôtre qu'on cherche en l'arche.[2]

[1] See above p. [illegible]. [2] See above p. [illegible].

Invocations of the sort are very rare in the Chansons de geste, though frequent in other forms of literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A few examples of oaths by the soul of parents occur, i.e. par l'âme mon père, foi que doi à l'âme de mon père, but the forms par mon âme and par ceste âme, which are more usual in the fabliaux, the Renart, etc. have not been found.

We might mention finally, as particularly characteristic of the Chansons de geste, the various forms of invocation of the beard. This oath, occurring commonly in the Roland, does not appear in the Cycle of Epic, nor in the fabliaux, and in the Renart furnishes only three examples. As was found to be true in the Roland the oath is largely reserved for the French Emperor and the Saracens, two of the examples

in the Renart are utilized by 'Noble'

Towards the middle of the twelfth century, partially under the inspiration of Provençal poetry and as the direct result of more peaceful times and the formation of certain court circles of refinement, there arose alongside of the National Epic in France the Courtly Epic. This new form of epic differentiates itself from the old, not only by changes of theme but also, and principally, by the reforms in composition and style. A conscious effort towards art takes the place of the rough simplicity of the National Epic. Naturally the first stylistic ornament to disappear was the set-phrases, epithets and formulæ-

some oath-formulas that abound in the chansons de geste. The reduction in the number of oaths is surprisingly great. The poem that contains approximately 200 oaths, Raoul de Cambrai, over 300; as contrasted with these, we find that Cligès furnishes only six examples, three seven. In place of the lengthy and continually varying oath-forms of the chansons de geste, we find in the courtly Epic a small number of oaths, which from their common occurrence in all forms of literature, we may judge to have been in every day use.

The following characteristics of oath-usage in the courtly Epic may be mentioned.

Par un dieu, par foi and par ma foi, par mon chief, foi que dois vos ete, and par mes yeux are, relatively speaking, frequent, as in the chansons de geste. En nom dieu and par dieu occur sporadically.

true for the chansons de geste, invocations of attributes of God the Son are virtually tabooed; I have found one example in Guillaume d'Angleterre ① in the mouth of a merchant of low character, ke pan dieu and bon mon âme, practically absent from the chansons de geste, occur with relative frequency. Other forms of oath, dieu with an adjective or descriptive qualifier, dieu or a substitute plus a relative clause, invocations of the saints in groups or individually, etc, furnish many examples.

The different branches of the Roman de Renart were composed apparently about the time when the production of the chansons de geste was at its height and when their specific style was being shaped into definite form. We have a right

1. 3242.

therefore to compare the style of these two literary genres like motifs, furthermore than the Renart is in many ways a caricature of social and political conditions of feudal times as they are portrayed in the chansons de geste. The inspiration and expression of the Renart is, however, fundamentally popular, and, though at times its authors imitate the manner of the National Epic, in the main it must be classed with the fabliaux in contrast to the chansons de geste and courtly Epic as well in its oath-formulas as in other elements of style.

God the Father.

Par dieu: 1- 1500.

De par dieu: rare.

Pour dieu: 1- 700.

Dieu with a preceding qualifier: rare.

Dieu, expressed or understood, thus

adjective or appositive qualifier; occasional.

Dieu, as a substitute, plus a relative clause: 1-28 s.c.

En nom dieu: no occurrences.

God the Son.

The name of Christ: rare.

Dieu (= Christ) plus an adjective or appositive qualifier: occasional.

Dieu (= Christ) plus a relative clause: occasional.

Indirect invocation of Christ through the medium of some attribute: 1-1000; especially cuer dieu (bé) etc.

Saints.

As a class or in groups.

les saints: 1-1500; especially, les saints du monde, - de céans, - que je vois ici.

Individually: 1-260.

Par (pour) saint —: 1- 400; par la foi que dois saint — etc: 1- 850; par (pour) le corps de saint —: rare. Germain, Léonard, Pierre, Gille, Nicolas, Georges and Denis are especially frequent.

Holy Abstractions.

Sainte charité is especially frequent.

Abstract Attributes — the speaker etc.

Par mon âme: rare.

L'âme de mon (ton, votre) père: 1- 4000.

En ma — foi: 1- 3000.

Par foi: 1- 400; par ma foi: 1- 1000.

Material attributes of the speaker etc.

Par mes (cette) barbe etc: rare.

Par mon chief: 1- 1000.

Par mes yeux, par mes dents, par ma peau: occasional.

Persons related to the speaker etc.

Par la foi que vous dois etc: 1- 350.

The most important difference of oath-usage between the chansons de geste and the Renart is the frequent use in the latter of oaths by physical attributes of God the Son. This characteristic of the Renart classes it with the fabliaux and other popular forms of literature. ~~and illustrates its vulgar and irreligious character.~~ Along with these sacrilegious oaths, as a necessary consequence, appear examples of suppression by deformation and by omission of dieu. In the Renart the most frequently invoked attribute of God the Son is le coeur, the form of invocation being generally par (pour) le cuer (ié). This attribute maintains its relative popularity in the fabliaux, but disappears ~~from~~ from oath-usage after the fourteenth century.

As regards the chosen vernacular terms

the chansons de geste and the Renart than between the chansons de geste and the fabliaux, the following details of usage may be indicated.

Invocations of dieu qualified, which are forms that occur in the chansons de geste are more frequent in the Renart than in the fabliaux. The same is true of oaths involving Christ by name. The formula for saint-invocation, par (pour) le corps de saint-, so common in the chansons de geste occurs three times[1] in the Renart and once[2] in the fabliaux. The oath-form par mon âme, absent from the chansons de geste but quite frequent in the fabliaux, is found only once[3] in the Renart. Finally, the oath by the head, which is characteristically frequent in

[1] I, 537; XVI, 636; IV, 317. [2] II, 8. [3] XII, 134.

the chansons de geste and lacking in the fabliaux, furnishes three examples[1] in the Renart.

Peculiar to the Renart specifically is the frequency of invocations of physical attributes of the speaker. Par mon chief and par ma (cette) barbe etc, it is true, are more frequent in the chansons de geste than in the Renart, but in the use of invocations by various other parts of the body the Renart exceeds all other literary genres.

In the following analysis it will be seen that the oaths of the fabliaux resemble closely those of the Roman de Renart. The average date of the fabliaux is about 300 years later than of the Renart.

[1] VI, 415; XXII, 650; XXVI, 327.

branches. The two genres, however, are connected, by authorship and inspiration with the same class of society, and they are equally marked with vulgarity and lack of religious seriousness. The differences of oath-usage, as will be seen, lie principally in details.[1]

God the Father.

Par dieu: 1-1575.

De par dieu: rare,

Pour dieu: 1-700.

Dieu with a preceding qualifier: rare.

Dieu (expressed or understood) plus an adjective or appositive qualifier: occasional.

Dieu, or a substitute, plus a relative clause: 1-4300.

[1] In describing roles the poems in the collection of Montaiglon and Raynaud shall be classed as fabliaux. I have followed the classification of M. Bédier in his Fabliaux

En nom dieu: 1- 25'00.

God the Son.

The name of Christ: rare.

dieu (= Christ) plus an adjective or appositive qualifier: occasional.

dieu (= Christ) plus a relative clause: occasional.

Indirect invocation ~~of Christ~~ through the medium of ~~his~~ attributes: 1- 1000; especially, coeur de dieu (bicu) and œil de dieu (bicu).

Virgin Mary

Sainte Marie: especially frequent.

Saints.

As a class or in groups.

les saints: 1- 15'00; especially, tous (les) saints.

Individually, 1- 275'.

Par (pour) saint-: 1- 310; par la foi que dois saint- de: 1- 1000; par (pour)

le corps. saint: nave.

Holy Abstractions.

Saint Esprit, sainte Patience, sainte Pauvreté, sainte Pitié, sainte Prière, sainte Vertu, sainte Vérité, sainte Virginité, sainte Volonté, sainte Vue, sainte Vie, sainte Vieillesse, sainte Vieillesse, sainte Vieillesse

rately to what extent and in what forms the oaths of the chansons de geste, the Renart and the fabliaux formed a part of everyday speech. The prose literature of the epoch, if it were abundant, might aid in determining this.

The historical works of the first half of the thirteenth century contain very scant material. Villehardouin furnishes us examples only for the adjuration oath par dieu. Robert de Clary employs en mon dieu once[1], de par dieu once[2] and par foi twice[3]. Henri de Valenciennes gives two occurrences of de par dieu[4], one of par mon dieu[5] and one of par ma foi[6].

The Lucasin et Nicolete, as might be

[1] p. 27. [2] p. 41. [3] pp. 43 and 45. [4] pp. 352 and 356. [5] p. 386. [6] p. 356.

expected, is more prodigal in its use of oaths. Their appearance is much less frequent in the poetry than in the prose portions. We notice furthermore that the poetry leans towards the oaths of the chansons de geste and the courtly Epic, whereas the prose tends to expressions characteristic of the parliaments and the Renart. In the poetry note for example: par dieu de fil Marie[1], par dieu de maiesté[2], (jure) dieu le me mentí[3] and (jure) dieu et son non[4], all of which are oath-forms of common occurrence in the chansons de geste. In the prose, we find, by the side of s'n non dieu[5], de par dieu[6], par mon chef[7] and par foi[8], several exam-

[1] 5, 53 (rime position). [2] 17, 13 (rime position). [3] 19, 17 (rime position). [4] 34, 33 (rime position). [5] 10, 78. [6] 22, 20; 15, 35. [7] 10, 47. [8] 1-, 7 L.

ples of oaths by physical attributes of God, such as par le cuer dieu①, par le cuer que cil viues ait en son ventre② and par le cuer de③.

The thirteenth century drama, as represented by Adam de la Halle and Jean Bodel, resembles the fabliaux in its oath-usage. We see this in the occurrence of the forms par le cul dieu④ and par la mort dieu⑤ together with the common use of un mon dieu.

Among the various types of literature that we have so far examined from the point of view of oath-usage, the fabliaux and Renart, principally, may be said to represent the low elements of society, the Courtly Epic the cultured elements, and the chansons de geste the cultured-religious. Of equal interest with these is the purely religious element in the

represented in the narrative and dramatic miracles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The earliest important work of this class is the Miracles of Gautier de Coincy, prior of St. Médard, written in honour of the Virgin Mary. In Gautier the worship of the Virgin attains such intensity as to almost outweigh his worship of God. An interesting indication of extreme Mary-worship is found in this miracle of the two gamblers. One of the two during the progress wears repeatedly the most violent oaths by all parts of God's body. When questioned by his companion as to why, under these circumstances, he should avoid swearing by the Mother of God, he answers, apparently with the author's approval:

Hui! Hui! fait il, mais tenez,
Comment pouvez vous en douter,
Par ta sainte Couronne d'or,
Ne pour t'enquiser, sainte gemme,
De couronne Notre Dame,
Qui me fesoit mal pes a dire?

In view of the many threats of damnation[1] made by Gautier against those who swear by the Lord and the saints and particularly by the Mother of God, there is ground for surprise at the number and character of the oaths found in his Miracles. Vituperance of oaths is not confined to the gay characters but is also typical of the speech of the clergy and of Gautier personally. We perceive in this usage the decline that the use of an invocation of a religious object to attest one's veracity was not

[1] pp. 155, 156, 159 fg., 620.

wrong, so long as the statement was truthfully and sincerely made and the oath was not a mere perfunctory information. This use of speech on the part of the clergy is even more pronounced in the dramatic miracles of the fourteenth century. No invocations of physical attributes of God or the Virgin or saints are found in their utterances, but other forms of oath by holy beings as well as by holy abstractions and by attributes of the speakers are common.[1]

The various lay characters show naturally greater freedom of oath-usage. This is especially true where low, comical characters are portrayed. Compare

[1] Par saint Pere, p. 109 (a bishop); foi que doi ta bele dame, p. 11 (a bishop); foi que doi m'ame et mon cors, p. 109 (a bishop); par m'ames, p. 300 (a bishop); par foi, p. 300 (a bishop).

in the "Miracle du Bouvier beni et par", ①
who utters violent oaths by God and by the Virgin and then we find soon after struck dumb and blind as a punishment meted out in part for his profanity.

As characteristic of Gautier de Coincy, note the following points in detail.

Pour dieu is very frequent; par dieu, de par dieu and en mon dieu, as well as all forms of oath involving dieu or its substitutes, do not occur. Invocations of the Virgin or the appelation Notre Dame are much more frequent than in profane literature. The saints individually are quite commonly invoked, especially St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Pierre and St. Nicholas (always in verse with the miracle). Par mon chief and other invocations of physical attributes of the speaker etc. are noticeably lacking.

① p. 103.

Closely connected with Jean de Coincy's Miracles, as regards style and subject-matter, are the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages of the end of the fourteenth century. Busch in his dissertation[1] upon the dating and adopting oath-formulas of these miracles[2] has made an extensive analysis of their employment in the three social classes, the clergy, the knightly class and the common people. He has made clear certain broad differences of oath-usage that exist between these classes. These distinctions, however, are unimportant as compared with those in the miracles of Gautier. It is to not

[1] Richard Busch, "Ueber die Betheuerungs- und Beschwörungsformeln in den Miracles de Notre Dame par personnages." Diss. Marburg, 1886. [2] Similar to

imprecations, and adverbial phrases [illegible]

find the lay characters of the dramatic miracles giving vent to the vulgar and sacrilegious oaths that they occasionally employ in Gautier's miracles, and on the other hand, if we except Gautier himself, the clergy of the fourteenth century miracles evidence more latitude in swearing than Gautiers' clerical personages. In explanation of the use of oaths by the highest clergy, Besch suggests that they were introduced in order to make the performances lively enough to appeal to popular audiences. We might bring forward this fact of public performance to explain also the absence of extreme forms of oath in the speech of the lower characters.

The following a summary of the most important oath-forms of the dramatic

miracles.

God the Father.

Par dieu: rare.

De par dieu: 1–1000.

Par la foi que dois, dieu etc.: 1–4500.

Dieu with a preceding qualifier: occasional.

Dieu (expressed or understood) plus an adjective or appositive qualifier: 1–4000; especially, dieu le (dou)(haut)(vrai) vor célestre.

Dieu, or substitute, plus a relative clause: occasional.

God the Son.

The name of Christ: relatively frequent.

Dieu (= Christ) plus an adjective or appositive qualifier; occasional.

Dieu (= Christ) plus a relative clause. occasional.

Indirect invocation of Christ through the medium of some attribute: very rare.

Virgin Mary.

Notre Dame, mère de dieu and vierge
especially frequent.

Saints.

As a class or in groups.

les saints : occasional.

Individually : 1 - 575.

Par (pour) saint = : 1 - 775; par la foi que j'ai dois à saint = etc. : 1 - 4000; par (pour) le corps de saint = : rare.

Gille, Pierre, Nicholas, Remi, Nicaise, Magloire, Georges and Denis, especially frequent.

Holy abstractions.

Le sacrement de l'autel and sainte (la) Trinité, especially frequent.

Abstract attributes of Mec spoken etc.

Par miséricorde : 1 - 1000.

Par que j'ai dois mi âme relatively frequent.

Par cette âme relatively frequent.

L'âme de mon (ton, votre) père: rare.

Par foi: 1-400; par ma foi: 1-1500.

Material attributes of the speaker etc.

Par mon chef: rare.

Persons related to the speaker etc.

Par la foi que je vous dois etc.: 1-2000.

~~Miscellaneous abstractions.~~

~~Par amour, par (la) vérité, en vérité~~ ~~generally frequent.~~

Among the most striking characteristics of the oath-usages of the Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages is the rare occurrence of asseverative invocations of dieu unqualified and the relative frequency of adjurative invocations. For analogous usage we must go back to the Roland and early religious literature. We remark furthermore that, whereas asseverative invocations of dieu unqualified are

rare,[1] asseverations by dieu qualified are relatively frequent.[2] This is the result of the attempt of the speaker, by adding to its religious emphasis or solemnity, to prevent his utterance from being considered frivolous or sacrilegious. Thus what seems at first to be a process of oath-strengthening is in fact a euphemistic measure.

As distinctive we note also the frequent use of invocations of the Virgin Mary by the appelations vierge and mère de dieu; of certain holy abstractions, such as le sacrement and la Trinité; of the saints Nicaise and Magloire; and finally to the deceased [illegible]

[1] See Busch, p. 7, 28, [illegible].

[2] II, 3°70, 1045°; IV, 1237; V, 774 [illegible]; VI, 3°69; XXIII, 204, 786; XXXI, 1278°; XXXIV, 1995°; XXXV, 111[illegible], 12[illegible]

Of par, mon Dieu as compared with Dieu par

The style of the courtly Epic of the twelfth century was continued in longer measures into the allegorical and didactic poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the *Roman de la Rose* not and examples of *par dieu*,[1] *pour dieu*,[2] *par foi*[3] and *par mon chief*;[4] *en nom dieu* does not occur; *par m'ame*[5] etc. and *de par dieu*[6] are rare; invocations of attributes of God the Son[7] and invocations of the saints[8] are occasional. In the didactic poetry of the fourteenth century oaths become very rare. Scattered examples are found of *par dieu*,[9] *pour dieu*,[10] *en nom dieu*,[11] *par foi*[12] and *par m'ame*;[13] invocations of the saints in the form *par (pour) saint —*[14] also occur. In other stories

[1] I, 156, 261, 295, 339; II, 32, 51, etc. [2] I, 67, 82, 111, 266, etc. [3] I, 137, 38, 194, 225, 267, 296; II, 15, 30, 85, etc. [4] I, 65, 106, 194, 225, 309, 344; II, 83, [illegible] I 170. [5] II 19. [6] I, 271, 309, II, 27. [7] I, 289, 309-10, II, 80, 97, 98, 128. [8] *Cond.* I, 125 [illegible], etc. [9] *Mach.* I, 30, 48, 81; *Cond.* I, 65, 122, etc. [10] *Cond.* I, [illegible] 258, etc. [11] *Cond.* I, 124, 259, etc. [12] *Mach.* I, [illegible] 74, etc. [13] *Cond.* I, 158, 162, 163, etc.

the subject-matter and the elevated style of composition could have deserved, no place for frequent oaths.

Eustache Deschamps, a late representative of the school which includes Guillaume de Machaut, Guillaume and Jean de Condé, etc., resembles this group completely in his oath-usage, and we would have no need to refer to him specifically were it not for certain poems in which he inveighs against the practice of swearing by God, the Virgin and the saints. In five ballades and one rondeau upon this topic[1] he mentions incidently a great number of such oath-forms in use in his day.[2] This list is especially interesting in that the majority of the oaths do not appear in independent use before the fifteenth.[3]

[1] I, 271-277; IV, 322. [2] The objects of invocation mentioned by Deschamps are not found

probable ordinary formulas on account of the exigences of rhyme and verse. However, that the objects mentioned occurred in talks in the speech of the second half of the fourteenth century, cannot be doubted. They are arranged below in the order followed in the general classification of chapter 2.

God the Father.

Le benoist dieu de tassus, le dieu en chascun s'affie,
celui qui tous nous crea, dieu qui le monde estable,
celui qui nous donna, dieu qui est nostre salus,
celui qui nous jugera, le dieu qui tous nous sauva.

God the Son.

Celui qui en croix pendi, celui que Judas vendi,
cil qui sa mort pardonna, dieu qui fut mort par envie,
cil dont la char fut nay, celui qui
nous resuscita, le dieu qui en cel monta, celui
qui son corps essi, dieu qui pour nous fut salus,
le dieu que l'en detracha, le dieu qui nous racheta,
le dieu qui fu encloz, le dieu qui mourut en croz,
le dieu qui se demonstra a la Magdaleine.

Angoisses, escuelle, la chair dieu, le precieux corps Jhesus, face, escuelle, yeuse, la mort dont dieu vint a vie (a refrain), les oeulz, pas, passion, piez mus, le sang que dieu degouta, - espandit, - estaura, - spiella, le sang dont pierre fendi, le saint sang que dieu tanca, - reya, sueur, teste, ventre, vertus.

Virgin Mary.

Le corps de la vierge Marie.

Saints.

Les sains qu'on a ... et pric.

Objects relating to the Passion.

Les clous, la couronne et la croix, le glorieus crucifi, la lance, les cinq plaies, le sang de Bruges, - de Jescamp, le sepulcre, le suaire.

Holy abstractions.

Le mesce que dieu chanta.

Except for the Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages and the above-noted list of oaths from Eustache Deschamps, there is very little literature of a nature to furnish popular oath-material between the end of the thirteenth and the second half of the fifteenth century. The style of the miracle is strictly religious and its oaths consequently not representative of the oath-usage of the time. The catalogue of oaths given us by Eustache Deschamps merely indicates the existence of certain oath-forms without informing us of their respective usages. As limited as these two sources are, however, they are invaluable as representing the transition between the popular oath-usage of the Old and Middle French periods.

With the fifteenth century commences the disappearance of [illegible]

and the formation of modern curtesies to replace it. Scepticism as to former artistic, social, political and religious beliefs developed. The appearance of new objects of reverence accompanied the decrease of reverence for the old. As an illustration of this general destructive movement, coincident in literature by the prevalence of satire, we remark the extreme development of oaths of a grotesque nature. As was seen, society as reverence for any object continues, since, the object may recur in various adjurations and asseverations. But as soon as reverence declines, adjuration or asseveration becomes grotesque, namely its emphasis, not from the solemnity of the invocation, but from its vulgarity and vacuity. This condition of

oath-usage has been observed only in literary
inflections of the lower classes during the Old
French period. In the fifteenth century, it
gradually spreads into polite literature.

The most important development in oath-
usage that takes place in the fifteenth and
sixteenth centuries is the change in adju-
rative oaths. During the Old French
period the usual types of adjuration were
pour plus an object (always religious), de
par plus an object and (par)(ta) foi que, de-
vez plus an object. In the fifteenth century, the
first of these types disappears, with the exception
of the forms pour dieu and pour l'amour de
dieu; the second continues common, especial-
ly in de par le diable etc. The third disap-
pears altogether. The functions of former
adjurative invocations is assumed in
large measure by exclamatory oath-forms
such as Sainte Marie! and Dame Dieu!

As regards forms of asseveration, note the gradual disappearance of invocations of dieu qualified and the growth in usage of invocations of God the Son, especially te sang, te corps and ta mort. Oaths by the saints collectively are rare; oaths by the saints individually are confined to a restricted number of saints and always take the form par <u>saint</u>= or <u>Saint</u>=!. The invocation of holy, material objects and holy abstractions becomes less common. A number of physical attributes of the speaker etc. are no longer found in oaths, while certain abstract attributes become frequent.[2] The preposition <u>sus</u> in place of <u>par</u> is often used to introduce invocations of personal attributes. Finally, we find that the function of asseverative, as well as adjurative, oaths is often performed by exclamatory invocations —

The normal explicitum for dieu is bieu; [illegible]

[1] So: <u>te dieu, tes yeus, ta tombe</u>, etc. [2] <u>Sacrement</u>, [illegible]

Except in the drama, the literature from 1450 to 1550 is largely individualistic and does not display the coagulation into genres of fixed definite style that is noticed in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In discussing the out-range of this period we write treat the drama first, since more or less accurate statistics may be given for it and it indicate the special characteristics of individual productions of other forms of literature with drama-tic usage as a basis of comparison. We resume Rabelais to the last, as with him closes the period under examination.

In the drama the most fertile sources of material are the farces, the Sermons Joyeux, the boasting monologues and some of the Sotties.

We give below a brief analysis of the out-range of these dramatic

God the Father.

Par dieu: 1-500.

Par bleu: 1-1200.

Peux dieu: 1-1600.

De par dieu: 1-2000.

(Par de) vrai dieu: 1-3200.

(Par) mon dieu: 1-600.

En mon dieu: no occurrences.

God the Son.

The name of Christ relatively frequent.

Indirect invocation of Christ through the medium of some attribute: 1-325; especially, le sang (1-750), le corps (1-1200) and la mort (1-1450).

Virgin Mary.

(Par) Sainte Marie: 1-4700.

(Par) Notre dame: 1-5750.

Saints.

As a class or in groups: rare.

Individually: 1-[illegible].

Par, saint— : 1-900; saint—! : 1-700; par monsieur (monseigneur), saint— : 1-800; tu, saint—! : occasional.

Jean, Jacques, Pierre, Georges, Gilles, Martin : especially frequent.

Objects relating to the Passion.

La croix : frequent.

The devil.

de par (tous) les (le) diable(s) etc. : frequent.

Abstract Attributes of the Speaker etc.

(Par) (sur) mon âme : 1-800.

L'âme de mon (ton, votre) père : very rare.

Par cette âme : very rare.

Par foi : very rare; par ma foi : 1-300; sur ma foi : 1-2500; ma foi! : 1-1250.

(Par) (sur) mon serment : 1-400.

Material Attributes of the speaker etc.

Par ma tête etc. : no occurrences.

Par mon chef (ma tête) : no occurrences.

Corps de Mahon! : no occurrences.

Pan mua yeux etc. : no occurrences.

(Pan)te wang de mor : occasional.

Persons related to the speaker etc.

Pan ta for [illegible] : very rare.

The monadics and monosyllables are very sparing in their use of oaths. The only oaths to occur frequently are pour dieu (1-1000), (pan), ma foi (1-1300), (pan te) vang bieu (1-1575), pan dieu (1-1725) and (pan) mon dieu (1-3150). Other forms are sporadic. As compared with the religious miracles of the fourteenth century, these remarks the relative frequency of invocations of attributes of God the Son.

The mystery-plays furnish very textual examples of oaths. Occurrences have been found of pan dieu, de pas dieu, (pan) (vau) mon ame and pan (vau) ma foi.

Epic and non-dramatic poetry, as represented by Villon and the didactic-lyric pieces of the collection of Montaiglon and Raynaud, makes much less frequent use of oaths than the drama. Par dieu, pour dieu, de par dieu, (par) (sun) ma foi, (par (sun), mon âme and (par) Notre dame occur occasionally. Invocations of attributes of God are more frequent, more as often than in religious drama. Saint-invocations vary with different authors; St Jean and St Jacques being, however, most popular.

The rondeaux and chansons de Charles d'Orléans and his followers resemble the court poetry of preceding centuries in the rare occurrence of oaths. Isolated examples of par dieu, pour dieu, (par)(sun) ma foi and par (sun), mon âme are found. The special frequency of (par) Notre dame and (par (sun)), mon de-

ment is characteristic of this form of literature.

The curious "Recueil joyeux, plaisant et recreatif de bon Accueil sans Paour et sans Reproche" of the beginning of the sixteenth century is abundant in oaths. It represents the usage of the upper classes, but not the cultured upper classes that inspired the lyric poetry of Charles d'Orléans, and others. The most frequent form of oath is the invocation of abstract attributes of the speakers, as, sur (par) ma foi, sur (par) mon ame, sur (par) mon serment, sur (par) mon honneur and (par la) foi de mon corps; the preposition sur being more frequent than par. In these respects it agrees with the usage of lyric poetry. It differs from the latter in the frequent use of invocations of physical attributes of Dieu and the saints.

(1) Michel Poés. Vol. IX.

At the close of the period covered by this study comes the romance of Gargantua et Pantagruel by François Rabelais. Despite the abundance of the oaths he introduces, especially in the adventures of Panurge and Friar John, they give us little aid in following the development of oath-usage. A large number of the oaths found are employed to parody familiar oaths as a part of the process of satire of the clergy and monks, as: de par le bon dieu et le bons homs, par Jupiter Pierre, par Mahom, par Golfarin neveu de Mahom, Ventre Mahom, Vertus d'Acheron, Vertus de Styx, par saint Adamas, par saint Goderan, par saint Humbert, par sainte Marye, par le grand Bellin, par le trousseau de sainct Benoist, par le vierge qui se rebrasse, par les saincts couillons du pape, feste dieu plaine de reliques, par le (digne) et sacré) froc que ie porte, (mon fourré tavon le oath), vertus de froc,

l'aube du bas que je porte (Donkey's imitation of Friar John), par sa part de Papemanie, par la royne des Andouilles, par les ambles de mon mulet, Sang de tes Cabres, par le trou Madame, par le manche de ce fallot, par l'asne de ma Dragoire eschauffée, etc. Rabelais is fond of putting in the mouths of his characters such oath-forms as are characteristic of the locality from which they come. Gascon oaths are quite common, Sang de tes Cabres, Cap de Guascoigne, Cap de Sainct Arnault, Corps de Galene, pas cap de Bious, etc. Au diable de Vitteau is an echo a superstition of Toulouse; par la dive oye Guenet probably involves the goose that accompanies legends of the Breton St Gwenole. Relics, vaints and the like of Poitou (Gaudissaine) are especially frequent objects of invocation, viz: par Nostre dame de Ricui, par saint Rigomé, par le vergne veu de Cahors. Quelle revanche de cette langue-

for unaccustomed oath-formations, the normal forms of invocation are probably taken.

The principal variations of Rabelais from the usage of the drama and other literature from 1450–1550 is in the forms of euphemism and oath-strengthening. Euphemism by substitution becomes very frequent at the expense of euphemistic deformations. Bacy (bysmystification for Dieu) takes the place largely of Dieu, which is customary euphemistic form of Dieu in the drama. The deformation Dieu, however, still appears commonly, as well as other euphemistic forms such as bis[1] (vrayment), bot (vraybot), Jarnie[2] (mort dieu), foy[2] (verbum foy, vraiment) and gués (mendiqués). Among the numerous examples of euphemistic substitution, see

[1] In the drama, see A. Thomas, 4, 305. [2] In the drama, see K. F. M. S., III, 13, 20. [3] In the drama, see A. Thomas, 2, 30, 34;

might mention ventre Mahom, vertus d'amour, Pasques de Soez, vertus bouf de bois, vertus d'ung petit poisson, vertus d'aultre d'ung petit poisse, and vertus mon pas d'ung petit poisson[1]. Euphemism by omission, frequent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and occurring in the drama, is rare in Rabelais. The strengthening of oaths is generally achieved by a preceding adjective, as in S. insambregoy[2]; by a following qualifier, as in mort bouf de boys; and by the aggravation of numbers, especially in invocations of the devil, as de par cinq mille et millions de diables.

As regards more customary forms of [illegible] might call attention to the following: Par dieu is the most frequently [illegible]

[1] Förster (pp. 65-72) furnishes numerous examples [illegible]

[2] Similarly: vain. Mar., Fabl. I, 20; saint. sang, Th. [illegible] ai. Ta Ken. 60, 109, 151, 159, 165, etc. [3] See Förster, pp. 132.

trouvé (these occurrences have been omitted); Notre-Seigneur and Sauveur are met with about 50 times as many examples. Invocations of Dieu with a preceding qualifier (sacré dieu, mon dieu, vrai dieu) occur commonly, while other forms of invocation of dieu qualified have disappeared in accord with the tendency shown in the drama. Among attributes of God, la vertu (les vertus) and le corps are most frequently invoked. Invocations of Christ by name of the saints collectively, which were rare in the drama, show no occurrences. The saints individually, as in the drama, do not appear in oaths frequently; St Jean appears in invocations more frequently than any other saint. The Virgin Mary is invoked occasionally in the form (par) la (mère, mère de dieu); Notre Dame and Vierge are very rare; Sainte Marie, quite common in the drama, does not occur. The forms of oath in attributive [illegible]

shows decreasing frequency. The use of Jun existed as far as this class of invocations, which had developed in the drama of the fifteenth century, becomes rare. Par ma foi is of frequent (twelve examples); par mon âme is abundant; invocations of mon serment and ma conscience, which arose during the sixteenth, are absent. Physical attributes are invoked in only five examples.

To recapitulate, we notice that whereas Rabelais varies in oath-usage from the contemporary drama, his variations have usually continued into the following century. For example: the profuse use of euphemism by substitution; the disappearance of invocations introduced by Jun; the absence of invocations of persons of antiquities, with the exception

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a Par ma barbe, I, 289; III, x. L'ar ma foi is not found.

(par)mafoi; the gradual disappearance of invocations of dieu qualified, except when the qualifier is a knocking adjective; the gradual disappearance of oaths by the Virgin, the saints and holy material objects and abstractions; the increase in frequency of invocations of the devil. The principal aspects in which Rabelais' oath-usage does not display progress from the usage of the forces towards that of the following century, are the absence of parbleu (? à rebleu!) and the regularisation of the euphemistic form bœuf rather than sang. In general, Rabelais' usage illustrates the process of reducing the vast body of invocations of the old French to a restricted number of needfull forms.

Chapter 4. Summary.

The foregoing investigation of the usage of prepositional phrases of association and adjunction throws some light on certain points concerning their grammatical, literary and chronological usage.

As regards grammatical usage, the material seems to substantiate two principal conclusions: first, a clear line of separation appears to exist between forms of association and forms of adjunction, in spite of the confusion of these forms found in edited texts; second, prepositional phrases of invocation follow a more or less consecutive development in losing their associative and adjunctive value to become mechanically interjections.

The main confusion of associative and adjunctive forms exists between phrases with par, in association, and phrases with pres and de pres, in ad-

fication. In the result of this confusion par phrases occur often in adjuration function, pour and de par phrases in assevaration function. Examples of the use of par in adjuration and pour in asseveration, there seem to reason to accept as representing Old French usage; examples of de par in asseveration, owing to the formal identity of de par < de parte and de par < de per, might well represent a confusion existing in the minds of the French.

The development of phrases of asseveration and adjuration into interjections is natural and to be expected. At first employed to stress the veracity or sincerity of an expressed utterance, they are later used independently, the statement asseverated or the action adjured being inferred from the context or expressed in the attitude or gesture of the speaker. The process

is observed, however, in only a restricted number of phrases in common usage such as par dieu, pour dieu, de par dieu, in nom dieu and par foi.

In the matter of literary usage, clear distinctions in the type of verbs employed and in the frequency of their occurrence mark the different genres, particularly in the period before the fifteenth century. These differences are due to variations in religious feeling and in stage of culture as well as to differences of speech and artistic form. In strictly religious literature we notice a tendency to limit the use of asseveration, whereas forms of adjuration are as frequent as in profane literature. In the chansons de geste, which are distinctly religious in character, phrases of asseveration and adjuration are very numerous; certain forms have developed into conventional phrases for the use of the poet. The [illegible]

by reason of its lack of dialogue and by its reaction from the style of Chansons de geste, restricts greatly the use of association and adjunction. As opposed to these three types of learned literature stands the literature of popular origin, the fabliaux and the Renart. These latter are distinguished principally from forms of learned literature by their use of vulgar and irreligious invocations of physical attributes of God, leading to the development of euphemisms (by omission, deformation and substitution) for dieu. In view of the occurrence of the same forms of invocation in solemn religious context (miracles and chansons de geste) and at the same time in vulgar sacrilegious context (the fabliaux and Renart) it has been necessary to distinguish between the employment of oaths in serious and in frivolous function.

Such developments of [illegible]

be observed in successive periods of the period examined affect both the choice of objects of invocation and the form of the phrases of invocation. In texts of the early period invocations of physical attributes of the speaker, the person addressed and the person referred to are much more frequent than at a later date; in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the invocation of physical personal attributes practically disappears. In the matter of religious objects of invocation the number of forms of invocation shows a progressive decrease as time goes on. Out of the vast quantity of forms of invocation of God the Father, God the Son, the Virgin, the Saints and Holy objects, material and abstract, in use during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, only a restricted number of forms appear to continue beyond the sixteenth century. Invocations of physical attributes of God, confined to popular [illegible] during the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries, spread into belle
letrature during the Middle French period.

Many developments in the form of phrases
of invocation are to be observed. Among these,
of most importance, is the change in the
fifteenth century of unitypical phrases
such as sang bieu! and Sainte Marie! in co-
ordinative and adjunctive function, the in-
troductory preposition (par, pour, de par le)
being omitted

Vita

I was born at Charlottesville, Virginia, January 31, 1885; was prepared for college at Jones' University School and, entering the University of Virginia in 1903, graduated in 1906 with the degree of A. B. The years from 1906 to 1909 were spent at the Johns Hopkins University with French as principal subject and Spanish and Italian as subordinate subjects. The summer of 1908 I spent in France. Since the fall of 1909 I have held an associate professorship of Romance Languages at the University of North Carolina.

While at the Johns Hopkins I followed courses under Professors Armstrong, Bruce, Elliott, Reid, Marden, Ogden, Shaw and Warren. I wish to state my especial debt of gratitude to the late Professor Elliott, to Professor Armstrong and to Professor R. H. Wilson, of the University of Virginia.

Oliver Towles.